

Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences. Museum
"Mss. (Papyrus 35.1446)"

A Papyrus of The Late Middle Kingdom

In the Brooklyn Museum

[PAPYRUS BROOKLYN 35.1446]

Edited with Translation and Commentary by

WILLIAM C. HAYES



THE BROOKLYN MUSEUM

**A PAPYRUS OF THE LATE MIDDLE KINGDOM
IN THE BROOKLYN MUSEUM**

Publications of the Department of Egyptian Art

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I. INTRODUCTION

I. SOURCE AND RECENT HISTORY OF THE PAPYRUS

UNLIKE the great Ramesside document named in his honor,¹ the fragments of Papyrus Brooklyn 35.1446 were acquired in Egypt by Charles Edwin Wilbour himself on one of his many journeys up the Nile during the winters of 1881-1896. They come in all probability from the site of ancient Thebes where Wilbour, needless to say, spent a generous portion of his time and where he is known to have made numerous purchases of papyri and other antiquities. Unfortunately the records of these purchases as preserved in Wilbour's notebooks and letters² are not sufficiently explicit to permit us to identify among them the particular papyrus with which we are now concerned, and the determination of its provenience must depend almost entirely on the internal evidence to be gleaned from the document itself.³

At Wilbour's death in 1896 his collection passed into the hands of his widow, Charlotte Beebe Wilbour; and twenty years later, in 1916, the bulk of it together with Wilbour's excellent Egyptological library was presented to the Brooklyn Museum. Almost all the papyri, however, remained in the possession of Wilbour's daughter Theodora until 1935 when a number of examples were selected by Miss Wilbour herself for inclusion in the Museum's Egyptian collection. Among the items chosen was the papyrus under discussion which consisted at that time (and until quite recently) of between five and six hundred fragments divided into nineteen separate "lots." In the same year or early in 1936 Edwin L. M. Taggart, Assistant Curator in charge of the Egyptian collection, placed on exhibition a dozen or so of the larger fragments framed separately between small rectangular sheets of glass.

During the winter of 1937-38 one of these fragments was shown to Dr. (now Sir) Alan Gardiner who identified the text on the *verso* of the piece as part of "a list of slaves or foreigners."⁴

1. Brooklyn Museum, accession no. 34.5596; Alan H. Gardiner, *The Wilbour Papyrus*. 4 vols. Oxford, 1941-1952.
2. On file in the Wilbour Library. See also *Travels in Egypt [December 1880 to May 1891]: Letters of Charles Edwin Wilbour*, edited by Jean Capart. Brooklyn, 1936.
3. See below, Section 4 of this chapter.
4. The fragment in question, which at that time bore the accession number 35.1473 B, carries on the *verso* parts of Lines 20-23 a (Plate IX).

In 1947 Miss Wilbour died and the balance of her father's papyri came into the Museum's possession.

Early in 1948, under the supervision of John D. Cooney, the present Curator of the Museum's Department of Egyptian Art, an attempt was made to re-assemble our papyrus by fitting together enlarged photographs of the principal fragments. This method for various reasons proved impractical and was soon abandoned.

In August 1950 Mr. Cooney and Anthony Giambalvo, the Egyptian Department's able Technician, took the first definitive steps toward the actual reconstruction of the papyrus, removing the larger fragments from their frames and isolating the hundreds of other fragments belonging to it from the rest of the Wilbour papyri. This arduous task involved the careful sorting through of more than one hundred and fifty lots of papyrus and was complicated by the presence among these of numerous pieces of XIIth Dynasty account-papyri⁵ similar in script and general appearance to the document under discussion.

From the early fall of 1950 until the end of June 1952 Mr. Giambalvo worked, whenever his many other duties would permit him to do so, on piecing together the remains of the papyrus. By March 1952, when I joined him in his labors, he had by his great skill and patience pretty well broken the back of a job made formidable not only by the great number of small pieces involved, but also by the innumerable gaps left by pieces long since lost. Throughout the operation constant use was made of a glass-topped table, strongly lighted from below, on which every pair of fragments joined together was examined for the exact coincidence of their fibres, valid joins being confirmed and misguided attempts at incorrect joins (of which I contributed an impressive number) being circumvented by this well-nigh infallible test. Considerable help in establishing the correct order of the principal sections of the papyrus was afforded us by the ancient scribe who drew up the list of servants on the *verso* and who, for his own convenience as well as ours, numbered every tenth entry consecutively all the way through the list from entry "10" (Plate VIII) to entry "70" (Plate XII).

By the last week in June 1952 all the existing fragments of the papyrus, with the exception of fifty small "floaters," had been joined together; and we had before us a document over two meters in length which, though riddled with lacunae, extended more or less continuously from one of its original ends to the other. In Charles Uht's photographs (Plates I-VII and VIII-XIV, below) we see of course only

5. Accession nos. 16.580.220, 221, 222, 224, 225, 227; 35.1450. These are apparently the "sundry scraps of papyrus . . . of the Twelfth Dynasty style" purchased by Wilbour at Elephantine in February 1890 and mentioned by him in his letters of February 9 and 14 of that year (*Travels in Egypt*, pp. 552, 554). I have had an opportunity of studying these fragments in some detail and heartily concur with the findings of Messrs. Cooney and Giambalvo that they cannot possibly have belonged to the document which forms the subject of this monograph.

the successive sections of the *recto* and *verso* of the papyrus taken as separate units; but, with the exception of Plates I-II and III-IV (XIII-XIV and XI-XII of the *verso*) where gaps of some 16 and 4 cm. occur, the edges of the section appearing in each plate overlap or join directly to the edges of the sections shown in the preceding and following plates.

In studying this interesting manuscript I have asked for and received a great deal of help and advice from my friends and colleagues. The transcription and interpretation of many key groups we owe to Georges Posener who during his stay in America as visiting professor to Brown University shared with me his intimate knowledge of hieratic scripts, hieratic texts, and Egyptian and foreign personal names of the late Middle Kingdom. As on former occasions Sir Alan Gardiner and Professor Jaroslav Černý generously donated their time to checking my transcriptions against photographs of the original texts and made a number of important emendations which have been incorporated in the final version of these transcriptions. To Professor Richard A. Parker I am grateful for several extremely astute observations on the texts of the *recto*; and to Profesor J. J. Clère for providing me with annotated copies of two unpublished stela inscriptions of late Middle Kingdom date. Transcriptions of the Asiatic personal names on the *verso* of the papyrus were sent to Professor William F. Albright, and his brilliant commentary on these names, soon to be incorporated in a journal article, is quoted extensively in Chapter III, Section 1, below. Mrs. Elizabeth Riefstahl has helped me prepare my typescript for publication and has made available to me the incomparable facilities of the Wilbour Egyptological Library. My principal debt is to John D. Cooney who first drew the papyrus to my attention, provided me with all the background information concerning it, and arranged for its restoration and publication. The cost of publication has been met by an appropriation provided by the Trustees of the Brooklyn Museum from the income of the Wilbour Fund.

The abbreviations employed throughout the footnotes and text of the present monograph are the same as those used by Sir Alan Gardiner in his *Egyptian Grammar* (Gard., *Egn. Gr.* Second edition, London, 1950, see pp. xix-xxvii).

2. DESCRIPTION OF THE PAPYRUS AND ITS CONTENTS

The "paper" used for this document is a good grade of papyrus, smoothly burnished on the *recto* and so thin that portions of the hieratic texts written on each of its sides are visible in the photographs of the opposite side, producing the false impression that we are dealing with a palimpsest. In places the fibres are as much as 3-4 mm. apart with an almost transparent film extending between them. In spite of this fact the fabric is structurally firm, the breaks clean, sharp, and almost completely devoid of the shredded, straggling fibres characteristic of many documents of the New

Kingdom and later times. The color was once a pale tan, but this is preserved in only a few small areas, most of the surface having darkened to a medium brown. The numerous instances in which pieces light in color were found to join immediately to very dark ones indicate that a considerable period of time has elapsed since the papyrus was reduced to fragments and that during that period (of perhaps centuries) some of its pieces were exposed to a far greater amount of dampness or other darkening agent than their mates. To judge from the remaining edges, portions of the document seem to have been devoured by some form of insect — probably the ubiquitous white ant. Our most serious sacrifice to the appetites of these voracious little creatures is the loss of almost the whole of the text of Insertion A (Plate IV, upper central portion).

The sum of the lengths of the existing sections of the papyrus comes to 182 cm. Approximately 16 cm. appear to be missing between the first and second sections of the *recto* (Plates I-II; see also XIII-XIV),⁶ 4-5 cm. between the third and fourth sections (Plates III-IV; see also XI-XII),⁷ and a few centimeters at the right end of the *recto*. The total original length of the document was, then, not much under 209 cm. (6 ft. 10 in.), or four Egyptian cubits. Within this length there were four sheets of papyrus, each between 50 and 54 cm. (1 cubit) long, pasted together so that on the *recto* the left edge of each sheet overlapped the right edge of its neighbor to the left by 0.8-1.0 cm. Part of a fifth sheet — a narrow strip 0.8 cm. in width — at the left edge of the *recto* (Plate VII) is all that remains of another length of papyrus to which our document had been at one time attached.

The maximum preserved height of the papyrus (to the right of Insertion B, *recto*: Plates IV-V) is 29.7 cm. Since the horizontal edges appear to be nowhere completely preserved the original height may have been slightly greater than this, approaching the 32 cm. which seems to have been the norm for manuscripts of the Middle Kingdom and Hyksos Period.⁸

Before being inscribed the *recto* of the papyrus — that is, “the side upon which the horizontal fibres lie uppermost”⁹ — was provided with horizontal guide-lines similar to those found in a number of approximately contemporary account-papyri of the late XIIth Dynasty from el Lāhūn.¹⁰ The purpose of such lines was clearly to facilitate the alignment of corresponding entries arranged in a succession of more

6. The figure is based not only upon the number of hieratic groups assumed, on the basis of Line 54 d (Plate IV), to be missing from the central portions of Lines 1 and 3 d of the *recto* (Plates I-II), but also upon the number and probable spacing of the sub-columns required to fill out the list of Lines 80 ff. of the *verso* (Plate XIII, left. Cf. Plates VIII-XII).

7. We lack here the vertical heading which introduces the “d” columns of the other sections of the *recto* and all except the “day” entries of the dates (see Plates I and VI).

8. Möll. *Pal.* i, pp. 6-7; *P. Kah.* pp. 1, 5, 19, 22.

9. *Adm.* p. 1.

10. *P. Kah.* 16; 17; 19; 21-26; see also *JEA.* 27, Pl. 9.

or less widely spaced columns, and their use was therefore confined chiefly to documents such as ledgers where the nature of the subject matter required such an arrangement.¹¹ In the present instance the lines are drawn in black ink and extend all the way from the fragmentary right edge of the manuscript to within 5.5 cm. of its left end (Plates I-VII). There are nine of them spaced on the average of 2.5 (2.2-3.0) cm. apart and apparently centered in relation to the original top and bottom edges of the roll. The spacing was calculated to permit three lines of hieratic text to be written between each pair of guide-lines — thus, 24 lines in all —; but only in the first section of the *recto* (Plates I-II) is this arrangement adhered to, Lines 25-54 (Plates III-IV) and 55-80 (Plates V-VII) being irregularly spaced in relation to the guide-lines and frequently running over them. The guide-lines were drawn from left to right, three or four strokes of the pen being required to complete each line. The places where the thin right end of each stroke is joined by the heavy left end of the succeeding stroke are visible in the photographs. At the extreme left edge of the *recto*, on the narrow strip torn away from the fifth sheet of the roll, are the ends of a similar series of guide-lines spaced, however, only 1.7 cm. apart and evidently belonging to another document, now lost.

Guide-lines could have been used to equal advantage on the *verso* of the manuscript (Plates VIII ff.), where the entries are also subdivided into successions of columns; and the fact that they are not present here suggests that by the time the texts on this side of the papyrus were drawn up the use of such lines had gone out of fashion.¹²

The *recto* of Papyrus Brooklyn 35.1446 carries as its original and principal texts eighty lines of hieratic inscription arranged in three sections of twenty-four, thirty, and twenty-six lines, respectively, the three sections together extending over almost the whole length of the manuscript with a margin of only about 7 cm. left uninscribed at either end. Each line contains seven entries spaced so as to fall into columns with the corresponding entries of the lines above and below. Within the three main sections the columns formed by these entries have been designated in the transcriptions of Plates I-VII A by the letters "a" to "g," the righthand column being assigned the letter "g" because in each case it appears to have been the last to be added. For ease of reference the lines have been numbered consecutively from "1" to "80."

In the "b" columns of Lines 25-80 and throughout the "d" and "f" columns the scribes adopted the labor-saving device of writing vertically headings and notations which apply to two or more successive entries in the adjoining columns.¹³ Thus, the

11. See, however, Berl. *Hi. Pap.* iv, 9-15; v, 4 bis.

12. Except for the first two sheets of the *verso* the well known XIIIth Dynasty account-book, Papyrus Bulak 18, is not provided with guide-lines (see *P. Boul.* xviii, facsimile).

13. Cf. *P. Kah.* 9, 4-7; *JEA.* 27, 74, Pl. 9.

vertical heading preceding Lines 1-24 d (Plate I) is to be thought of as repeated before each of the following lines and is so to be read. In the "f" column of the same section (Plate II), on the other hand, it is clear that the first notation applies only to Lines 1-3, the second to Lines 4-8, the third to Line 9, and so on. By indenting his vertical entries the scribe who drew up the "b" column of Lines 25-54 (Plate III) was able, with almost no repetition of the groups involved, to make it clear that the initial element of the title *sš ḥwt*, etc., is to be read straight through the column, while the various second elements (*wḥt*, *dḥt*, *ḥbsw*) are to be read only with certain groups of lines, and the place names only with the one or two lines opposite which each is written. A further variation appears in the "d" column of Lines 59-70 (Plate VI) where, for lack of space, the lower half of the vertical text had to be written in two columns¹⁴ and where a horizontal line branching from the vertical at the word *dḥt* supplies a variant of the text applicable only to Line 63. In cases where only two preceding entries were involved a notation referring to both was sometimes written horizontally, divided into two parts (Lines 1-2 b, 26-27 b) or aligned with the space between the two entries (Lines 55-56 d).

With the exception of the scribes' notations of Columns e and f and the insertions in Lines 1-24(?) of Column c these texts are written throughout in black ink. That they might be readily distinguishable from the more "official" entries to which they are appended the notations and insertions referred to were written in red ink.¹⁵ In the transcriptions a ruled line below or (in the case of texts written vertically) to the right of a sign, group, or series or groups indicates that it is written in red — a fact which is not always easy to determine from the photographs.

The handwritings throughout these texts are of the small, "business" type, the heights of the normal vertical signs and the lengths of the normal horizontal signs rarely exceeding 9 or 10 mm. Certain characters, such as the vertical *h*, the eye (*ir*), and the horizontal signs in Columns e and g, are, however, attenuated well beyond the norm, reaching lengths up to 20 mm.

The texts of Columns a-d are the work of two unnamed scribes whom we shall call "X" and "Y." Scribe X using a slender, neatly trimmed rush and writing in an angular and rather careful hand, with the signs rendered in some detail, drew up the list of Lines 1-24 a-b, made the black entries in the adjoining "c" column, and appears to have written the vertical heading of the immediately following "d" column (Plate I). Lines 1-24 d and 25-80 a-d seem to have been written throughout by Scribe Y,¹⁶ who probably also entered the black check-marks in the "e" columns. Y's writing-rush was coarser than X's and his hand bolder, more rounded, and less

14. A new text (also composed in two columns) having begun opposite Line 71.

15. On the use of red ink in Egyptian manuscripts see *JEA.* 37, 75-80; *Wilb.* Comm. 183.

16. At Line 65 a this scribe, realizing that he had fifteen more entries to make in the remaining, relatively small space, began to crowd his lines and reduce the size of his writing.

detailed, the signs in many cases being differently formed and differently ligatured.¹⁷ When writing in vertical columns both scribes tend to elongate their horizontal signs and to use less cursive forms and fewer ligatures than in the horizontal lines.¹⁸

The red entries in Column c, Lines 1-24(?), and in all the "e" columns overlap the adjacent black entries in a number of instances and were clearly insertions, added apparently by a third scribe or group of scribes.

The names and handwritings of six different scribes are preserved in the notations of the "f" columns.¹⁹ These handwritings are for the most part inferior in quality and legibility to the hands of the main texts and may well be appreciably later in date.

The last entries to be added, those of the "g" columns, are abbreviated versions of the "f" entries and are probably to be attributed to the same six scribes who made these entries.

On palaeographic grounds alone there can be little doubt that the handwritings of Columns a-d are to be assigned to the late XIIth Dynasty and in all probability to the reign of King Amenemhēt III. They bear a close resemblance to other non-literary scripts of this reign as exemplified in the Semneh Despatches²⁰ and in a number of legal documents and account-papyri from el Lahūn²¹ and, though of a different class of script, cannot be far removed in date from the literary hand of "Sinuhe B" (Berlin P. 3022).²² This conclusion finds support in the sequence of high regnal-year dates — "10," . ? ., "31" — preserved in Column d (Lines 1 ff., . . . , 55 ff.) which, within the general period involved, are ascribable only to the reign of Senwosret III or of Amenemhēt III, with every probability favoring the latter. It is confirmed by the presence in the "b" columns of these texts of place-names compounded not only with that of Senwosret III, but also with that of Amenemhēt III himself (see below, Chapter II, 2, "The 'b' Entries"). Both the handwritings and the piecemeal manner in which these texts were drawn up make it clear that they are original documents more or less contemporary with the dates which they bear, and not later copies of such documents.

The brevity of the notations of Columns e-g makes the absolute dating of these obviously later additions a precarious undertaking. Palaeographically, however,

17. Compare, for example, Y's writing of the name *Sbk-rj* in Line 26 a (Plate III) with X's writing of the same name in Lines 1 and 2 a (Plate I).

18. See the vertical heading preceding Lines 1-24 d (Plate I) and in Plate VI compare the vertical text of Lines 59-70 d with the horizontal writing of the same text in Line 55-6.

19. The names and titles of these scribes are listed and discussed below, in Chapter II, 6.

20. Preserved to us in copies made by a Theban scribe of the reign of Amenemhēt III. See Smither, *JEA*. 31, 4-5 (notes by Gunn), Pls. 2-6.

21. *P. Kah*. 11-16, 19, 22, 26; *Text*, 86; Möll. *Pal.* i, 13-14, Col. "Illahun," Pls. 4-5.

22. Berl. *Hi. Pap.* v, 4-5, Pls. 5-15; Möll. *HL.* i, 7-12; Möll. *Pal.* i, 14-16, Col. "Sinuhe," Pl. 6. See Gard. *Sin.* 2-3.

they seem to be more closely related to the known hieratic writings of the XIIIth Dynasty than to those of the XIIth. The small, extremely cursive, and often malformed groups of the "f" columns can, I think, be profitably compared with the handwriting of the larger manuscript of Papyrus Bulak 18,²³ while the big, sprawly signs of Columns e and g seem not unrelated to those found in the fragments of the smaller Bulak manuscript²⁴ — and, incidentally, to those of the XIIIth Dynasty texts preserved on both the *recto* and *verso* of the present papyrus. That many years, perhaps even decades, should have intervened between the drawing up of the lists of Columns a-d and the addition of these later entries is, as we shall see, a not unreasonable assumption. In the absence of more definite indications we may suppose that the red entries in Column c, Lines 1 ff., were made at the same time as the red insertions in the corresponding "e" column.

Insertions "A," "B," and "C" are not parts of the principal texts of the *recto*, but copies of three later documents written in the blank spaces which happened to exist between the columns of these texts. They are composed in lines of varying length so as to fit into the areas available, and B and C are written upside down either the better to achieve this end or perhaps merely to render them distinct from the surrounding texts.

The earliest of the three documents cited, Insertion A, is drawn up in ten to twelve short horizontal lines in the open area between Columns d and e of Lines 25-40 (Plate IV). It would seem that the now destroyed ninth line of the inserted text must have been indented slightly to avoid overlapping the end of the already existing horizontal entry of Line 37 d. Below the long tail of the last sign in the tenth line of the insertion there is room for one or perhaps two more lines before, at the level of Line 41 d-e, an area of blank papyrus is reached. The fact that, on the left, the lines of the insertion stop short of the red entries in Column e does not necessarily indicate that it is later in date than these entries, for the text is a copy of a late XIIth Dynasty letter and, as such, would normally have been composed, as it is here, in a succession of short horizontal lines.²⁵ To distinguish it from the date line and text of the original letter, which are written in black, the explanatory title of Line 2 is written in red ink. The handwriting is somewhat larger than those of the main texts and more "literary" in character.²⁶ Its similarity to the hands of

23. *P. Boul.* xviii, facsimile, Plates 14-46; Möll. *HL.* i, 20; Möll. *Pal.* i, Col. "Bulaq 18" (14-46). Photographs of this manuscript were generously supplied me by Prof. Posener.

24. *P. Boul.* xviii, facsimile, Plates 47-55; Möll. *Pal.* i, Col. "Bulaq 18" (47-55). Thanks to Mr. Cooney I possess a set of photographs of these fragments.

25. See *P. Kah.* 29 ff. Note, too, that in the present letter, as in others of the period, the division of the text into lines is determined by the lengths of the successive clauses in the formula of greeting.

26. Note the elongation of the *sdm* and *s* signs in Lines 4 and 8, respectively, and the exaggeratedly long tails of the final *m* in Line 4, the *k* in Line 8, and the final *w*(?) in Line 10.

numerous letters of the late XIIth Dynasty from el Lahûn²⁷ suggests that our copy was closely contemporary with the writing of the original letter. This is confirmed by the fact that the red title, "*Copy of . . .*" (Line 2), does not precede the date (Line 1), but is inserted between it and the text of the letter. Since the date given is "Regnal Year 36" — almost certainly of Amenemhêt III — it is probable that Insertion A was added to the papyrus only four or five years after the completion of Columns a-d and is earlier than the majority of the entries in Columns e-g.

This is not the case with Insertions B and C which, as their handwritings and contents show, belong well down in the XIIth Dynasty, half a century or more after the time of Insertion A. The two texts, copies of royal decrees addressed to the well known vizier Ankhu²⁸ and dated, respectively, to the [fifth (?)] and sixth regnal years of an unnamed king, appear to have been written by a single scribe whose florid and irregular script is not only closely related to the handwriting of the *verso* of this papyrus, but recalls vividly the hand of the smaller manuscript of Papyrus Bulak 18.²⁹ The titles of our copies (B, Lines 2-3; C, Line 2), which, as in the case of Insertion A, were inserted between the dates and texts of the original documents, are written in red ink.

Insertion B, inverted and squeezed into the vertical space between the second and third sections of the *recto*, was composed in eighteen short horizontal lines, the last of which is now completely missing (Plate V). The space appropriated was not only narrow, but already partially occupied by horizontal entries branching into it from the adjoining "f" column of the second section. To avoid overlapping these the writer of Insertion B in one instance ran his lines (11-12) above and below the earlier text and in another place shortened the lines (15-16) to two or three groups. In the few places where overlapping actually occurs the black writing of the insertion always overlies the red signs of the earlier "f" column. In size the handwriting of Insertion B is, with the exception of the single characters in Columns e and g, the largest on the *recto*, the big vertical signs at the beginnings of its lines ranging in height up to 18 mm.

The space selected for Insertion C — below the "d" entries of the last section — is long and low and this text was therefore composed in six long horizontal lines preceded, near the bottom edge of the papyrus, by a short date line in black and a secondary title in red ink (Plates VI-VII). The tip of the long "handle"-stroke of a *k*-sign in this title runs over the top of the reed-leaf in Line 78 e (Plate VII). Otherwise there is no contact between Insertion C and the adjoining older texts. Toward the ends of Lines 4 and 8 of the insertion, however, the scribe has had to abandon

27. *P. Kah.* 27-37 *passim*.

28. See below, Chapter III, 2.

29. See above, note 24. Möller (*Pal. i*, 16) in describing the handwriting of this manuscript has pointed out the "predilection for rounded forms and flourishes which it shares with the papyri of the Hyksos Period."

his normally florid style of writing and reduce both the sizes and spacing of his signs in order to complete the lines within the space available. In these places the writing is smaller and less detailed than anywhere else in the papyrus. In general, the carelessness and inconsistencies which characterize the script of Insertions B and C make the reading of these last and in many ways most interesting additions to the *recto* extremely difficult.

The greater part of the *verso* of the papyrus is taken up by a long list of servants, the ninety-five entries in this list being distributed over six sections of fifteen to sixteen lines each. Immediately to the right of every tenth entry the ancient scribe has written its number — "10," "20," "30," and so on, up at least as far as "70" (Plate XII).³⁰ Each line contains four separate sub-entries spaced so as to form columns within the principal sections and designated in the transcriptions of Plates VIII-XII A by the letters "a," "b," "c," and "d." Of the sixth section (Lines 80-95) there remain only portions of the upper half of the "a" column, a gap of some 16 cm. occurring in the papyrus immediately to the left of this column.³¹ By indenting Lines 5 a, 14-16 a, 11 b, and 14-16 b the scribe has indicated that the initial group or groups of a preceding entry are to be read also before each of these lines. This device appears to have been used only in the first section of the list.

After completing the fifth section of the list (Lines 64-79) and before drawing up the sixth and final section (Lines 80-95) the scribe wrote in the explanatory caption to which I have assigned the capital letter "A" (Plate XIII). By using for the most part short horizontal lines interspersed with vertical columns he was apparently able to make this relatively short text occupy the same vertical height as the list to which it refers — a piece of graphic legerdemain probably devoid of any other significance.

Appended to the list is a deed of conveyance of servants and other property from a man to his wife ("B:" Plate XIV). This badly damaged text is written in thirty-one horizontal lines divided into two columns of sixteen and fifteen lines, respectively. Not more than 5 cm. of blank margin, and probably less, appears to have separated the left ends of Lines 17-31 of this text from the left edge of the *verso* of the papyrus.

Text "C," a caption similar to Text A, was written in two and a third vertical columns in the narrow spaces which separate the first four sections of the list (Plates VIII-XI). Halfway down C 1 (Plate VIII) the scribe found it necessary to jog his column slightly to the left to avoid overlapping the long diagonal stroke at the end of Line 8. There can be little doubt that Text C — or what is left of it — is to be read continuously from its beginning, opposite Line 1 of the list, to its end, opposite Line 38. It was obviously an insertion, later in date than Texts A and B, and was, ostensibly at least, the last text to be inscribed on the papyrus.³²

30. See *AEO*. i, 7, pls. 1-4; and *PSBA*. 14, 459-60.

31. See above, the second paragraph of this section.

The whole of the *verso* of our document was written in black ink apparently by a single XIIIth Dynasty scribe who in the running lines of Text B merely reduced somewhat the size and formality of his script.³³ Both texts and handwriting are firmly dated by Caption A to the first regnal year of King Sekhemrêr Sewadjtowy [Sobkhot]pe (III), Text B(?) and Caption C having been added in the following year. The script is more regular and more legible than the approximately contemporary hands of Insertions B and C of the *recto* and the smaller manuscript of Papyrus Bulak 18. As exemplified in the list of servants it resembles the handwritings of several late Middle Kingdom papyri from beneath the Ramesseum at Thebes, particularly the large and rather handsome hand of the Ramesseum Onomasticon.³⁴ It bears out Möller's observation that the handwritings of this period are beginning to show traits which are characteristic of the great manuscripts of Hyksos times — the Rhind, Westcar, and Golenischeff papyri.

3. THE DATING OF THE PAPYRUS

In discussing the dating of the successive groups of text in the Brooklyn papyrus reasons have been advanced for supposing that in every instance these texts are either original documents or copies made very shortly after the drawing up of the originals. The fact that in none of the dated texts on the *recto* was it regarded necessary to give the name of the ruling pharaoh suggests that these texts were written in the reigns to which they are dated or so soon thereafter that no confusion regarding the king's identity was possible.

Before concluding our introductory inspection of the papyrus and its contents it will be useful to clarify by means of a simple table what is conceived to be the chronological order and approximate dating of its texts:

1. <i>Recto</i> , Lines 1-24 a-c	— Year 10 (of Amenemhêt III ?)	(—1833 B.C.)
2. " Lines 1-24 d, 25-80 a-d	Years 10-31 (of Amenemhêt III ?)	(1833–1812 B.C.)
3. " Insertion A	Year 36 (of Amenemhêt III ?)	(1807 B.C.)
4. " Lines 1-80 e-g	Late XIIth to XIIIth Dynasty	
5. " Insertion B	Year [5 ?] of the predecessor of Sobkhotpe III	([1746 ?] B.C.)
6. " Insertion C	Year 6 of the same king	(1745 B.C.)

32. It is not improbable, as Posener has suggested, that Insertions B and C of the *recto*, which are copies of slightly earlier documents cited as authority for the actions recorded on the *verso*, were added after the *verso* had been fully inscribed. This, however, would not alter the true chronological order of the texts as outlined in the table below.

33. The height of the vertical signs in the list is 15 mm.; that of the corresponding signs in Text B, 11 mm.

34. *AEO*. i, 6 ff., pls. 1-5. Incidentally, this is one of the few documents known which uses the system seen in our present list for numbering its entries. See above, note 30.

7. <i>Verso</i> , Lines 1-95 and Text A	Year 1 of Sobkhotpe III	1743 B.C.
8. " Texts B(?) and C	Year 2 of Sobkhotpe III	1742 B.C.

From the approximate absolute dates given in the righthand column of this table³⁵ we see that, whereas the papyrus was apparently in active use for a total period of about ninety years, its contents actually falls into two main groups: the late XIIth Dynasty texts of items 1-3, above, and the mid-XIIIth Dynasty texts of items 5-8.

4. THE PROVENIENCE OF THE PAPYRUS

Although, as already remarked, we have no record of where, when, or from whom Wilbour acquired the fragments of Papyrus Brooklyn 35.1446, the evidence for a Theban provenience contained in the document itself is copious, consistent, and, I think, conclusive.

An inspection of the main texts on the *recto* of the papyrus reveals the fact that these texts are concerned exclusively with residents of that section of Upper Egypt which extends from Gebel es Silsileh, sixty-two miles to the south of Thebes, to the neighborhood of Akhmīm, some sixty-odd miles (as the crow flies) to the north of it.³⁶ As both the geographic and administrative center of this stretch of the Nile Valley it can only have been to Thebes itself that the problems connected with all these people were referred and to which, therefore, the lists of their names were sent. The fact that of all the localities involved Thebes alone is not mentioned by name points pretty clearly to the conclusion that it was there that the texts of Lines 1-80 were drawn up. Confirmation of this is found in the headings of the "d" entries of Lines 1-24 and 55-80 where it is recorded that orders, or directives, concerning the persons listed in the preceding columns were "issued to the *hnrt wr*," or "Great Prison," an institution known from other sources to have been located at Thebes.³⁷

A reference to the "Southern City," that is, Thebes, seems to be preserved at the end of Line 5 of Insertion A (Plate IV).

Copies of the XIIIth Dynasty decrees, Insertions B and C (Plates V, VI), are stated (B 2-3, C 2) to have been "brought to the office of the Reporter (?) of the

35. The XIIth Dynasty dates are derived from Parker, *The Calendars of Ancient Egypt*, p. 69. Those for the XIIIth Dynasty kings are estimates based on the Turin Canon and on existing texts and monuments of the period.

36. See below, Chapter II: "The 'b' Entries." Both distances are of course much greater if measured along the course of the Nile, Silsileh lying some ninety miles upriver from Thebes and Akhmīm one hundred and forty-five miles downstream.

37. Scharff, *AZ.* 57, 51; Dav. *Rekh.*, 91, Pl. XXVII (14); Lacau, *Une Stèle juridique de Karnak* (*Ann. Suppl.*, Cahier No. 13), 24; Spiegelberg, *Studien und Materialien zum Rechtswesen des Pharaonenreiches*, p. 65.

Southern City" and it was presumably from these that the copies actually preserved in the papyrus were made. The beneficiary of the second decree (C 4) was an "Overseer of Fi[el]ds of the Southern City;" and a man named Pay, the subject of the petitions cited in both decrees, is described in C (8) as "he who is in the Southern City."

Since the Theban beneficiary of Insertion C of the *recto* seems to have been the person responsible for drawing up the list of servants and other texts on the *verso* of the papyrus we may presume that these texts too were written at Thebes.

We have already had occasion to note the rather marked similarity which exists between the handwriting seen on the *verso* of the Brooklyn papyrus and that of the Ramesseum Onomasticon. Other points of similarity between the two documents include the unusual system of line-numbering employed in both and the striking fact that the series of Upper Egyptian towns listed in Lines 188-216 of the Onomasticon and named on the *recto* of our papyrus not only parallel one another closely, but end in both cases with the little known ancient village of Gereget (*Grgt*), near Akhmīm.³⁸ Since the tomb in which the "Ramesseum Papyri" were found was opened during the winter of 1895-96³⁹ and since Wilbour was at this time buying papyri and other antiquities in western Thebes⁴⁰ it is not impossible that the fragments of Papyrus Brooklyn 35.1446 came from this very tomb or from one in the immediate vicinity. It is unlikely, however, that they ever formed part of the Ramesseum Papyri proper, for these were found all together in a wooden box and apparently remained undisturbed in Quibell's possession until their arrival in England.⁴¹

Another possible Theban source for the Brooklyn papyrus is a cemetery of the late Middle Kingdom which seems to have existed on the eastern slope of the Dirā' Abu'n Naga. From here in 1860 came Papyrus Bulak 18, two manuscripts with which, as we have seen, our XIIIth Dynasty texts must be closely contemporary and to which they bear a marked resemblance both in script and, to some extent, in content. It is, in any case, worth noting that the "Drah Aboo Neggeh" was well known to Wilbour as a source of antiquities and that at least one papyrus in his collection came from there.⁴²

The feeling that the papyrus is from a private tomb — presumably in western Thebes — is prompted by yet another consideration. Since the ultimate beneficiary of the document was the woman named Senebtisy in whose favor the texts on the *verso* were drawn up,⁴³ there is every probability that the papyrus ended up in her possession and was buried with her.

38. *Recto*, Line 36 b (Plate III) = On. Ram. no. 216 (*AEO.* ii, 44*, No. 355 A, Pl. XXV).

39. Quibell, *The Ramesseum*, 3.

40. Wilbour Notebooks, 3-C, pp. 261, 287.

41. Quibell, *Loc. cit.*

42. Wilbour Notebooks, 3-C, p. 261.

43. See Text B (Plate XIV), *passim*. See also below, Chap. V, 3.

7. <i>Verso</i> , Lines 1-95 and Text A	Year 1 of Sobkhotpe III	1743 B.C.
8. " Texts B(?) and C	Year 2 of Sobkhotpe III	1742 B.C.

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II. THE MAIN TEXTS ON THE RECTO

Lines 1-80 (Plates I-VII)

These texts comprise: first, a list of seventy-six⁴⁴ residents of southern Upper Egypt who appear to have absconded without completing or to avoid performing services required of them by the state (Entries a-c); second, copies or résumés of a series of government directives issued to the Great Prison (*hnrt wr*) at Thebes instructing that institution to deal with these people in accordance with the appropriate sections of the criminal law (Entry d); and, third, notations recording the execution of these instructions and the conclusion of nearly all of the cases involved (Entries e-g).

1. THE "a" ENTRIES

Here we find listed the names of the fugitives (almost exclusively men), accompanied in each case by the name of a parent. The latter, according to the "inverted" Middle Kingdom method of expressing filiation, is written first, followed by the hieratic contraction of the sign *s3*, "son," and then by the name of the fugitive himself. Since inversions of this type were apparently not, as was once thought, "solely graphic"⁴⁵ we read the names in the order in which they are written ("the son of Sobk'o, Nodjemyeb," or "Sobk'o's son, Nodjemyeb"), assuming with Griffith⁴⁶ and Sethe⁴⁷ that the name of the parent is a direct genitive and that the name of the son is in apposition with the word *s3*. Except in Lines 4 and 16, where the word for "son" appears to be written with a normal hieratic form of the pintail duck,⁴⁸ I have transcribed this word with the sign of the egg (H 8⁴⁹), a convention frowned upon as anachronistic by some scholars, but supported by at least one hieroglyphic text of the late XIIth Dynasty⁵⁰ and having the advantage of reproducing more closely than the duck the actual form of the hieratic sign. In conformity with the practice normally adhered to in hieratic texts of this period the "man" or "woman" determina-

44. Four of the persons named are listed twice — in Lines 25-28 a and, again, in Lines 59-62 a.

45. Gard. *Egn. Gr.* 1st edition (1927), § 85; see, however, *Ibid.*, second edition (1950).

46. *JEA.* 13, 281.

47. *ÄZ.* 49, 95-9.

48. Cf. Möll. *Pal.* i, No. 216.

49. Gard. *Egn. Gr.*, List of Hieroglyphic Signs, p. 474. Similar letter-and-number designations of hieroglyphic signs used hereinafter refer to this list.

50. *Sinai.* 28 (Pl. 12), Col. 3. This is, however, a somewhat cursive inscription and exhibits in its signs several semi-hieratic forms.

tive (A 1, B 1) is never written after the names of the parents⁵¹ and only occasionally, in Lines 1-24, after the names of the fugitives themselves.

In conventional transcription and transliteration the first column of names (Lines 1-24: Plate I), drawn up by Scribe "X" early in the reign of King Amenemhēt III (?), reads as follows:

1. The son of Sobkro (*Sbk-ꜥꜣ*), Nodjemyeb (*Nꜣm-ꜣb*)
2. The son of Sobkro, Senwosret (*S-n-Wsrt*)
3. The son of Dedetsobk (*Ddt-Sbk*), Sobkhotpe (*Sbk-ḥtp*)
4. The son of Nenteni (*Nn-tni* ?), Iku (*'Ikw*)
5. The son of Sianḥūr (*Sꜣ-'In-ḥrt*), Anḥūrnakhte (*'In-ḥrt-nḥt*)
6. The son of Senyeb (*Sn-ꜣb*), Sobkhotpe
7. The son of Menekhḥor . . . (*Mnh-Ḥr-...*), Senwosret
8. The son of [I]denimyroḥꜥau (*['I]dn-ꜣmy-r-ḥꜥw*), Amenemhēt (*'Imn-m-ḥꜣt*)
9. The son of . . . ret (*...rt*), Senwosret
10. The son of, Anḥūrhotpe (*'In-ḥrt-ḥtp*)
11. The son of . . . y (*...y*), Djebas (*Dꜣꜣ-s*)
12. The son of Itē (*'It*), Nakhti (*Nḥtꜣ*)
13. The son of Siseḥankh (*Sꜣ-sꜥnh*), Khernesnakhte (?) (*Ḥr-ns-nḥt* ?)
14. The son of Reḥuḥankhe (*Rḥw-ḥnh*), Montuhotpe (*Mntw-ḥtp*)
15. The son of Ḥenwetefḥankhe (*Ḥnwt-ḥ-ḥnh*), Ḥarhotpe (*Ḥr-ḥtp*)
16. The son of Remenes (*Rmn-s*), Nemaḥrēḥ (*N-mꜣḥt-Rḥ*)
17. The son of Senet (*Snt*), Rometḥankhe (*Rmt-ḥnh*)
18. The son of Nebyotef (*Nb-ꜣtf*), Inyotef (*'In-ꜣtf*)
19. The son of Senet, Senuḥankhe (*Snw-ḥnh*)
20. The son of Itē, Irenes (*'Ir-ns*)
21. The son of Khnumhotpe (*Ḥnmw-ḥtp*), Ḥemenwosre (*Ḥmn-wsr*)
22. The son of Ibebi (*'Ibbꜣ*), Seḥetepyebḥrēḥ (*Shṯp-ꜣb-Rḥ*)
23. The son of Ḥenuyemes (*Ḥnw-ꜣm-s*), Nakhti
24. The son of Djebaf (*Dꜣꜣ-f*), Senetbakh (*Snt-Bꜣḥ*)

The names in the second section (Lines 25-54), listed by Scribe "Y" sometime between the tenth and thirty-first years of Amenemhēt III (?), are:

25. The son of Kheperka[rēḥ] (*Ḥpr-kꜣ[-Rḥ]*), Reḥuḥankhe
26. The son of Reḥuḥankhe, Sobkro
27. The son of Gewa (*Gwꜣ*), Inyotef
28. The son of Inyotefḥankhe (*'In-ꜣtf-ḥnh*), Khnumnakhte (*Ḥnmw-nḥt*)
29. The son of [I]tēro (*['I]t-ꜥꜣ*), Inyotef

51. In Line 55 a the seated man (?) at the end of the name *Mr-Mnw* is taken to be either a scribal error or, perhaps, the determinative of the component *mr* ("one beloved of") rather than of the whole name.

30. The son of Dedumūt (*Ddw-Mwt*), 'Ankhyeb (*ʿnh-ib*)
31. The son of Inyotef, Sobkhotpe
32. The son of Nakhti, Senʿankhe (*Sn-ʿnh*)
33. The son of Sianhūr, Nakhti
34. The son of Minnakhte (*Mnw-nht*), Ineni (*ʿInni*)
35. The son of Simīn (*Sṯ-Mnw*), Simīn
36. The son of Rehwetʿankhe (*Rḥwt-ʿnh*), Sobknakhte (*Sbk-nht*)
37. The son of Rehwet(?)ʿankhe, Senʿankhe
38. The son of Bet (*Bwt*), Rehuerawsen (*Rḥw-r-ṯw-sn*)
39. The son of Sobkhotpe, Sobkhotpe
40. The son of Deduanhūr (*Ddw-ʿIn-hrt*), Renokre (*Rn-ikr*)
41.
42. The son of . . . [o]kre (. . . -[i]kr), In . . . (*ʿIn- . . .*)
43. The son of . . . okre (. . . -ikr),
44. [The son of] nefer (*nfr*)
- 45-54.

• In the third and last column of names (Lines 55-80), drawn up also by Scribe "Y," we find the following:

55. The son of Mermīn (*Mr-Mnw*), Minhotpe (*Mnw-htp*)
56. The son of Senwosret, Ihynef (*ʿIhy-n-f*)
57. The son of Sabes (*Sṯb-s*), Montuhotpe
58. The son of Sobkkhu (*Sbk-ḥw*), Dedusobk (*Ddw-Sbk*)
59. The son of Kheperkarē, Rehuʿankhe
60. The son of Rehuʿankhe, Sobkʿo
61. The son of Gewa, Inyotef
62. [The son of] Inyotefʿankhe, Khnumnakhte
63. The [daugh]ter of Sianhūr, Teti (*Ttṯ*)
64. The son of Werbet (*Wrbt*), Resnakhte (*Rs-nht*)
65. The son of Khentekhtaywaḥe (*Hnt-ḥty-wḥ?*), Harnehes (*Hr-nhs*)
66. The son of Sitkhentekhtay (*Sṯt-Hnt-ḥty*), Khentekhtayhotpe (*Hnt-ḥty-htp*)
67. The son of Si[t]inyotef (*Sṯ[t]-ʿIn-ṯtf*), Khentekhtayhotpe
68. The son of Sit[kh]entekhtay, Khentekhtayem . . . (*Hnt-ḥty-m- . . .*)
69. The son of [Si]tmenkhet (*[Sṯ]t-Mnht*), Sihathōr (*Sṯ-Ht-Hr*)
70. The son of Sitkhentekhtay, Khent . . . (*Hnt- . . .*)
71. The son of Sitneferu (*Sṯt-nfrw*), Khentekhtayem . . .
72. The son of Sitameny (*Sṯt-ʿImny*), Khentekhtayem . . .
73. The son of Tei (*T-ṯ*), Wersenkha . . . (*Wr-sn-ḥṯ . . .*)
74. The son of Sitʿakyu (*Sṯt-ʿkyw*), Thotem . . . (*Dḥwty-m- . . .*)
75. The son of Si[t]ʿaḥa(u)ty (*Sṯ[t]-ʿḥṯ(w)ty?*), Oker (*ʿIkr*)
76. The son of [ʿAḥa (*ʿḥṯ*)?], Wet . . . (*Wt . . .*)

77. [The son of] Si[t] ... (Sj[t]- ...),
 78. (traces only)
 79. [The son of] Khentekh[tay],
 80. [The son of], Nakhti

Looking back over the three groups of names we note that the four persons named at the head of the second section (Lines 25-28) are listed again in the third section (Lines 59-62). The reason for this is not clear, for a similar duplication seems to exist also in the corresponding entries of Columns b-g. Probably it is best to regard the repetition of these names and the accompanying entries merely as a piece of clerical carelessness, resulting perhaps from the use of a series of overlapping reports received by our scribe at different times and copied out mechanically without proper collation of their contents.

This duplication, as already noted, reduces to seventy-six the number of fugitives listed. Of these we have preserved the complete or practically complete names of fifty-six men and one woman (Line 63) and the names of fifty-four of their parents. Of the latter twenty-six are feminine names.⁵² Thus, as frequently with persons of lowly or uncertain parentage,⁵³ almost half of these people were identified through their mothers rather than through their fathers who in some cases may have been unknown. Certainly in Lines 1-2 and possibly in Lines 36-7 and 68-and-70 the occurrence of the same parental name at the beginning of two successive or closely adjoining lines would seem to indicate that the fugitives named in these lines were brothers.

Portions of fourteen more names (four "parents" and ten "fugitives") are preserved in Lines 9-11 of the first section and in the much damaged last lines of the second and third sections. These fragments range in extent from part of a single sign (Lines 10, 44) to two-thirds of a complete name (Lines 71-72). They swell our total number of wholly or partially preserved names to one hundred and twenty-five.

The majority of these are common or, at least, known late Middle Kingdom names, catalogued and analysed by Ranke in his *Die ägyptischen Personennamen* ("PN"), references to which will be found below in the Index of Personal Names. The somewhat doubtfully read *Nn-tni* of Line 4, though listed by Ranke, is a rare name known only from the Old Kingdom, but paralleled by a similar name of XIIIth Dynasty date (PN. i, 206, 17). [*I*]dn-imy-r-*ch*w ("Lieutenant-Commander-of-Ships") of Line 8 is elsewhere unknown, but belongs to a well attested class of appellation in which a title — occasionally an elaborate or high-flown title — has been adopted by a quite ordinary citizen as his personal name.⁵⁴ *Mnh-Hr*... (Line 7), *Sj-snh* (13), *Hnwt-f-nh* (15), *Rmn-s* (16), *Rmt-nh* (17), *Hmn-wsr* (21), *Hnw-im-s*

52. Lines 3, 9(?), 16, 17, 19, 20, 22, 23, 29, 36-38, 57, 64, 66-75, 77.

53. See below, Chapter IV, 1.

54. Cf. PN. i, 25, 18-20; 115, 16; 239, 22; 274, 2; 389, 15; etc.

(23), *Dbt·f* (24), [*I*]t-*ḥ* (29), *Ḥy-nf* (56), *Rṣ-nḥt* (64), *Ḥnt-ḥty-wḥ* and *Ḥr-nḥs* (65), *Sṯt-ḥkyw* (74),⁵⁵ and *Sṯt-ḥ(w)ty(?)* (75), though not recorded by Ranke, are common enough types of names, made up of familiar elements combined in orthodox ways. *Snt-Bḥ* (24) is, I believe, correctly read. Posener has pointed out to me its resemblance to *Snt-ḥ* of *PN. i*, 297, 3. On the other hand, the readings *Ḥr-ns-nḥt* ("Ḥr-ns-is-strong"?) (13)⁵⁶ and *Wr·sn-ḥ* . . . ("Their-chief-has(tens)"?) (73) are certainly open to question and emendation, not entirely suiting the hieratic remains and resulting in unknown, though perhaps not unreasonable, names.

Of the fragmentary names the first in Line 10 was perhaps a theophorous name compounded with *mr·*, "beloved of . . .;" while those in Lines 42 and 43 may well have been the common *Rn-ḥkr* (cf. 40) in the first instance and *Ḥn-ḥtf-ḥkr* in the second. The names of the fugitives in Lines 68, 71, and 72 are almost certainly to be restored to read *Ḥnt-ḥty-m-ḥst*, that being the commonest name of this type involving the god *Ḥnt-ḥty*. Similarly, the second name in Line 74 is probably to be completed as *Dḥwti-m-ḥst* (*PN. i*, 408, 1). The determinatives of the first name in Line 76 suggests the restoration *ḥ*, "the-Accurate-one."⁵⁷

As nearly always in rosters of Egyptian names those compounded with the names of deities are the most numerous, forty-five of the persons listed in the extant portions of Lines 1-80 a having had names of this type. The material is too slight and too incomplete to draw any broad conclusions; but the relative popularity of the dozen different gods and goddesses mentioned and the association of their names with the Upper Egyptian localities referred to in the existing "b" entries are not without interest. The pertinent data is most easily and clearly presented in the form of a table:

<i>Divinity</i> ⁵⁸	<i>Frequency</i> ⁵⁹	<i>Lines</i> ("a" entries)	<i>Associated Localities</i> ("b" entries ⁶⁰)
Sobk	12	1-3, 6, 26(60), 31, 36, 39, 58	Batyū (twice), This, Akhmīm
Khentekhtay	10	65-68, 70-72, 79	[Silsileh (?)]
Anḥūr (Onuris)	7	3, 5 (twice), 10, 33, 40, 63	This (4 times)
Mīn	4	34, 35, 55 (twice)	Akhmīm (twice)
Khnum	2	21, 28(62)	Silsileh (?), Waheswet
Horus	2	7, 15	This, Koptos
Montu	2	14, 57	Koptos

55. For *ḥkyw* alone as a personal name see *PN. i*, 71, 29.

56. *PN. i*, 273, 16.

57. See *Wb. i*, 233 f.

58. See Bonnet, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte* (Berlin, 1952), 755-9, 131-3, 545-7, 461-7, 135-40, 307-14, 375-9, 31-7, 277-82, 491-4, 285, and 321-2, respectively.

59. I.e., the number of persons named in honor of the divinity, without regard to the types of names involved.

60. These are discussed in the next section of this chapter.

Amūn	1	8	(Thebes?)
Mūt	1	30	Erment
Hathōr	1	69
Thōt	1	74
Hemen	1	21	Silsileh (?)
Ihy	1	56

The popularity of the crocodile-god Sobk in the late Middle Kingdom and the multiplicity of his cult places throughout both Upper and Lower Egypt are too well known to require comment. To judge from the frequency with which, as here, he is mentioned in Upper Egyptian personal names of this period a similar widespread popularity must have been enjoyed by Khentekhtay, the otherwise meagerly documented falcon-god of Athribis in the southern Delta. In the present lists the regularity with which residents of This and Akhmīm bear names honoring their respective local divinities, Anḥūr and Mīn, is very striking, theophorous names not as a rule reflecting their geographic affiliations with such flawless consistency. A case in point is the inhabitant of Gebel es Silsileh (Line 21) whose name, "Hemen-is-powerful," embodies that of the relatively obscure local god of Ḥefat (Aṣfūn), a town some sixty miles to the north of Silsileh.⁶¹ On the other hand, Khnūm and Horus, though not the principal deities of Silsileh and of This and Koptos, respectively, were certainly "at home" in these localities. Since few, if any, Thebans are included in our lists Amūn and Mūt are sparsely represented among the personal names, a single "Amenemḥēt," possibly of Thebes,⁶² and a single "Dedumūt," of the neighboring town of Erment, preserving the only occurrences of the names of these important deities. Even the common "Montu-is-content" (*Mntw-ḥtp*) occurs only twice, borne in one instance by a resident of Koptos, on the northern fringe of the Thebaid. The normally popular Hathōr and her son Ihy, "the Musician," are restricted to one name apiece; and the same is true of Thōt, a divinity much honored in personal names from the Old Kingdom onward.

"Seḥetepyēbrē" (22) and "Kheperkarē" (25 [59]) may represent the adoption by private individuals of the throne-names of Kings Amenemḥēt I and Senwosret I or may be abbreviated versions of names compounded with the praenomina of these kings.⁶³ Since, on the other hand, the "Nemaṛer" of Line 16 was almost certainly a grown man at the time the list was drawn up⁶⁴ and since the name itself dates back to the Old Kingdom⁶⁵ we have no reason to associate it directly with the throne-

61. On personal names compounded with that of Hemen and their geographical distribution see Vandier, *Moralla*, 8-13.

62. See below, under "The 'b' Entries."

63. *PN*. ii, 111 ff., 115 bottom, 234.

64. In or before Year 10 of Amenemḥēt III (?).

65. *PN*. i, 172, 16.

name of Amenemhêt III. The very common "Amenemhêt" (8) and "Senwosret" (2, 7, 9, 21, 56) were both known before the XIIth Dynasty and here again there seems to be no necessity for supposing that they were adopted in honor of specific kings of this dynasty, though in some instances this may have been the case.

Before leaving the entries in the "a" columns let us review briefly what the names themselves have to tell us of the people who bore them. Since they are for the most part typical Egyptian names, many embodying those of local gods and goddesses,⁶⁶ it is practically certain that their owners were freeborn native Egyptians. Most of these people, however, would seem from their names to have remained in the neighborhoods in which they were born, and many of them were apparently not certain who their fathers were. With one not very notable exception⁶⁷ they bear no titles. It is clear, then, that though they were Egyptians, they were Egyptians of humble station; and, since they were evidently neither slaves nor serfs in the narrow sense of the terms, they are probably best to be described as peasants. The fact, moreover, that only one of the known fugitives is shown by these lists to have been a woman suggests that the tasks or occupations which they had in common abandoned were those normally performed by men.

2. THE "b" ENTRIES

Here we find entered against the names of the fugitives — presumably as further means of identification — miscellaneous items of information concerning them: the names of their towns or villages, the cultivated lands to which they were attached, the titles and occasionally the names of officials responsible for them, and in several instances the names and titles of prominent citizens with whom they seem to have been associated as adopted(?) "sons." In many cases the "b" entry, though perhaps actually in apposition with the preceding name, is best construed as a direct genitive and the English word "of" (often meaning "belonging to" or "under the jurisdiction of") supplied before it.

In the first section of the list (Lines 1-24) the "b" entries are not separated from the names of the fugitives, but follow immediately after them in the same column:

- 1-2. a man of Batyu (*Btyw*)
3. (of) the ploughlands (*ḥbsw*) of the Steward, Senyeb's son, Sianhūr
4. a doorkeeper of the granary of the ploughlands of the district which is in the midst of Khentmīn (*Ḥnt-Mnw*)
5. he is called the son of Senbebu (*Sn-bbw*), a priest of This (*Tn(i)*)

66. Theophorous names are rarely found among those assigned by the Egyptians to their Asiatic and Nubian servants. See below, Chapter IV, 1.

67. The granary doorkeeper of Line 4.

6. he is called the son of Hepu (*Hpw*), a Commander of Soldiers of This
7. a man of This
8. a tenant of the Steward of the Treasury, Anḥurnakhte (*'In-ḥrt-nḥt*)
9. a man of This
10. he is called the son of Hepu, a Commander of Soldiers [of This]
11. (of) the ploughlands of the Steward, Amen^{co} (*'Imn-ḥ*)
12. (of) Khenu(?) - Amenemḥet - may-he-live-forever-and-ev[er] (*Hnw(?) - 'Imn-m-ḥst-ḥnh-ḏt-r-nḥ[ḥ]*)
13. (of) Yuny (*'Iwny*)
14. (of) Gebtyu (*Gbtyw*)
15. (of) Gebtyu
16. (of) the ploughlands of Per[hathōr ?] (*Pr-[Ht-Hr ?]*)
17. (of) the ploughlands of Sekhetkhui (*Shṯ-ḥwī*)
18. (of) Djeba (*Dḃ*)
19. (of) Djeba
20. (of) Djeba
21. a man of Rokhen(y?) (*R-Hn(y?)*), (of) the department (*wṛt*) of the ploughlands of
22. a man of the ploughlands of Yunet (*'Iwnt*)
23. (of) the ploughlands of Irenka (*'Ir-n-k*)
24. (of) Khenu(?) - Amenemḥet - may-he-live-forever-and-[ever]

In the second and third sections of the lists the "b" entries are assigned columns of their own in which, as already remarked,⁶⁸ they are composed and indented so as to obviate, insofar as possible, the necessity of rewriting elements common to two or more successive entries. Using ditto marks as well as simple indentation to indicate the repetition of these elements we may reproduce Lines 25-54 b (Plate III) as follows:

- | | |
|--------|--|
| 25. | (of) the Scribe of the Fields of the <i>wṛb-ḥt</i> of Hetsekhem (<i>Hwt-shm</i>) |
| 26-27. | " " " " " " " " " " Batyu |
| 28. | " " " " " " " " " " [Waheswet (<i>Wḥ-swṯ</i>)] |
| 29. | " " " " " " " " " " S[ekhetkh]ui (?) |
| 30. | " " " " " " " " " " Yuny |
| 31. | " " " " " " " " " " Council |
| 32-33. | " " " " " " " " " " <i>wṛb-ḥt</i> of This |
| 34-36. | " " " " " " " " " " Khentmīn |
| 37. | " " " " " " " " " " Gereget (<i>Grgt</i>) |
| 38-41. | " " " " " " " " " " plough[lands of] |
| 42. | |

68. Above, Chapter I, 2.

43-45.

..... **Sekhetkhui**

46-54.

and the third section (Lines 55-80: Plate V):

55. a man [of]

56. a man of

57. (of) the web-[h]t of

58. (of) the people (*hr*) of

59. (of) the Scribe of the Fields of Hetsekhem

60-61. " " " " " " " " Batyu

62. " " " " " " " " Waheswet

63. " " " " " " " This

64-65. " " " " " " " " Khen[y?] (*Hn*[y?])

66-80.

While tending to confirm the impression that we are dealing in these lists with members of the peasant stratum of ancient Egyptian society the "b" entries make it clear that for purposes of official classification these people were divided into several different categories.

There are, in the first place, fourteen or more men who are listed simply as residents of towns and villages of southern Upper Egypt, such as the two brothers of Batyu who head the list (Lines 1-2). Among the entries of this type we include both those introduced by the words "a man of . . ." (1, 2, 7, 9, 55, 56) and those in which the name of the town is appended directly (as a genitive ?) to the name of the fugitive (12-15, 18-20, 24).

At least a dozen of the offending citizens were attached — presumably as farmhands — to cultivated lands (*ḥbsw*) identified either by the officials in charge of them (3, 11) or by the towns near which they were located (4, 16, 17, 21-23, 38-41). The lands administered by the Steward Sianḥūr (3) were perhaps near This, those of the Steward Amen^o (11) near Thebes itself, a locality which, as we have already remarked,⁶⁹ our Theban scribes would have felt it unnecessary to mention by name.

The abbreviated writing of *ḥbsw* seen throughout these texts is well attested elsewhere and it is reasonably certain that this is the word intended.⁷⁰ Conventionally translated "ploughlands" (literally, perhaps, "hoe(d)-lands"), the term appears from Herakleopolitan times onward to have referred to a particular type or quality of cultivated lands, distinct at least from the *ḥ(w)t*-fields and the *ḥntš*-tracts, but com-

69. Above, Chapter I, 4.

70. See Gard. *Egn. Gr. Sign List*, Z 9 (p. 538); *Urk.* iv, 1054, 1093; *Th. T. S.* i, pl. 30 E. The same writing occurs in an unpublished account-papyrus of the early XIIth Dynasty from Naga ed Dēr, now in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston (*recto*, C, II, 3). Other readings of the word (*sw}w*: *Wb.* iv, 62; *hsbw*: *Wb.* iii, 166-8; *pš*: *Wilb. Comm.*, 58-9; etc.) were considered, but were discarded as unlikely for one reason or another.

ing with these under the general classification of "farmlands" (*ih(w)t*).⁷¹ When we first encounter the expression *hbsw*, in the tomb of the nomarch Akhtoy of Siût, it seems to be applied to lands recently made arable or restored to arability by improvements in the local irrigation system.⁷² This was perhaps the meaning of the word throughout the period of its use — a period restricted, so far as is now known, to the Middle Kingdom and the XVIIIth Dynasty.⁷³ A passage in the well known "Installation" texts shows that in the early New Kingdom the *hbsw*-lands were a special concern of the vizier.⁷⁴ Sethe, commenting on this passage and taking into account the fact that officials called "Overseers of the *hbsw*" participated in the periodic measurement of cultivated lands felt that *hbsw* was a term having to do with the cadastral survey of landed property.⁷⁵ This viewpoint acquires some support in the rare occurrence of the coil of (measuring ?) cord (V 1) as the determinative of the word *hbsw*.⁷⁶ Borchardt, however, has certainly gone astray in translating the title *imy-r hbsw* as "Vorsteher der Feldmarken."⁷⁷ The existence of this official title, borne in one case by a man who was also a "Scribe of the Fields of the Lord of the Two Lands,"⁷⁸ and the fact that *hbsw* were among the properties bestowed by the king on the god Amün⁷⁹ indicate that, at least in the XVIIIth Dynasty, lands of this class (created perhaps by royally sponsored irrigation projects) were crown property administered by officers of the pharaonic government. Our present texts suggest that this was also the case in the late Middle Kingdom. We note especially Line 21 wherein the fugitive is identified as "a man . . . of the *wrt* of the *hbsw* . . .," *wrt* being at this period the regular expression for a "department" of the pharaoh's provincial administration⁸⁰ — in this instance presumably the department charged with the management of the royal farmlands. The existence of a "granary (*šnwt*) of the *hbsw*" (Line 4) further suggests that the *hbsw* were agricultural units embracing more than simply the fields themselves. Aside from the Scribe of the Fields (*sš ih(w)t*) of Lines 38-41 the only officials associated here and in another Middle Kingdom papyrus⁸¹ with the *hbsw* are "stewards" (*imy-r pr*), men whose special

71. *Urk.* iv, 746. See also *Wb.* iii, 256, Belegst. 14; *ÄZ.* 42, 70; *Urk.* iv, 172.

72. *Siut.* V, 3 and 7-8; *Äg. Forsch.* 5, 64; *BAR.* i, § 407.

73. *Wb.* iii, 256, Belegst. 13, 14; See also Gard. *Egn. Gr.*, § 115 A (Brit. Mus. 1628, 10-11); *Dav. Rekh.* i, 88; *Th. T. S.* i, 7, 43, 51, 53, pls. 7, 11, 30 (E); *Unt.* v, 2, 36; *Rec.* 26, 16.

74. *Dav. Rekh.* i, 88; ii, pl. XV (20-21).

75. *Unt.* v, 2, p. 36, note 163.

76. *Wb.* iii, 256, Belegst. 14.

77. *ÄZ.* 42, 70.

78. Menena, the owner of Tomb 69 at Thebes. See *Wb.* iii, 256, Belegst. 14; *ÄZ.* 42, 70.

79. *Urk.* iv, 746. The title "Overseer of the *hbsw* of Amün" is known from the tomb of Menena at Thebes (see the preceding footnotes).

80. *JNES.* 12, 31-2 and the references cited there.

81. The Naga ed Dêr papyrus referred to in footnote 70, above.

function it was to supervise the running of the landed estates of the mighty, usually of a god or of the king himself. In the papyrus cited we find, as here, a list of people attached as laborers to the "ploughlands" (*hbsw*) (of) such-and-such a Steward.⁸² In our own Line 57 d (Plate VI) one of the fugitives is to be punished by being turned over *permanently* to the *hbsw*, "together with his people." From this we may conclude that for average, law-abiding citizens assignment to the *hbsw* was normally only for limited periods of time. All in all it seems permissible to recognize in *hbsw* an expression for government-created and government-operated farms on which citizens of Egypt were periodically called upon to serve as statute laborers.

In the second and third sections of the list (Lines 25-80) we find the title "Scribe of the Fields" (*sš ḥ(w)t*) interposed between the names of most of the fugitives and the names of the organizations and localities to which they had been attached. The title obviously refers, not to the fugitives themselves, but to the local officials formerly in charge of them. It leaves little room for doubt that these people had, before running away, been employed in "the fields," probably as ordinary farmhands. In Lines 59-62 b (and ff.) the title immediately precedes the place-names Hetsekhem, Batyu, and Waheswet; but in Lines 25-28 b, in which identically the same people are referred to, an element apparently to be read *wʿb-ḥt*⁸³ is inserted between the title and the place-names. This expression, evidently compounded of two words — *wʿb* and *ḥt* ("wood," "tree"?), appears to be elsewhere unknown. From the position which it occupies in our "b" columns it is clearly not a title, but rather an agricultural or administrative unit comparable to the "plough[lands]" (*hbsw*) of Lines 38 ff. or to the "council" or "court" (*djḏt*) of Line 31. A parallel which suggests itself is the compound *ʿt (nt) ḥt*, "orchard";⁸⁴ and if we can equate *wʿb* (as in *Wb.* i, 284 [8-9]) with *ʿt* then we may have here an expression for "orchard" — a not unlikely place of assignment for peasant-laborers of the type with which we are dealing. In Line 57 b *wʿb-[ḥ]t*, once followed in all probability by a place-name, is not preceded by the title "Scribe of the Fields (of)," but, like *hbsw* in most of its occurrences, is to be read directly after the name of the fugitive: "Sabes's son, Montuhotpe, (of) the orch[ar]d(?)" of such-and-such a place. Line 31 b indicates that fields and fieldhands could, temporarily at least, come under the jurisdiction of a "council" or "court" (*djḏt*) and be supervised by a Scribe of the Fields attached to such a body. The fact that its location is not specified and that it is inserted in the list between Yuny (Erment) of Line 30 and This (Girga) of Line 32 suggests that the *djḏt* of our entry may have been at Thebes. Possibly, however, we have to do here, not with one of the local councils, but with something like the "*djḏt* of the *wʿrt*

82. *Recto*, C, II, 3.

83. Note the phonetic complement, *t*, which follows the *ḥt*-sign in Lines 32 and 57.

84. *Wb.* i, 160 (13); iii, 341 (5). For the writing *ʿt ḥt*, without the genitival adjective, see Pap. Anastasi III, *recto*, 2, 5; 2, 12; Pap. Rainer, 53, 6.

of the South" mentioned in a contemporary papyrus from el Lahūn⁸⁵ or the "*ḏḏt* of sections (*tṃ*)" referred to in the XVIIIth Dynasty version of the "Duties of the Vizier."⁸⁶

The entries relating to Sobkkhu's son, Dedusobk of Line 58 are, as we shall see, unusual throughout, and in the "b" column he is apparently described as being "(of) the people" or "household" (*hr*)⁸⁷ of a person whose name is destroyed.

In the first section of the "b" entries we encounter yet other means by which individual fugitives were identified. Here, for example, we find after the name of Iku of Line 4 mention of his position as janitor, or doorkeeper (*iry ṛ*)⁸⁸ of a granary. That this position was as unimportant as it was common at this period is indicated by an interesting roster of a temple staff from el Lahūn. Here the temple's six doorkeepers are mentioned next to last on the list, after a Medjau, or Kushite policeman (?).⁸⁹ Elsewhere in the same group of temple documents we find the title *iry ṛ* borne by an Egyptianized Asiatic (*ṛm*).⁹⁰ Except for the fact that he was fortunate enough to find relatively easy employment as a doorkeeper there is, then, no real reason for differentiating this Iku from the rest of our absconding peasants. Amenemhēt of Line 8 was attached in a subordinate and dependent capacity to an estate owned or administered by a Steward of the Treasury (*imy-r pr n pr-ḥd*)⁹¹ and is described as a *ḏt*, a term indicative of a status somewhere between that of a tenant and that of a serf.⁹² In Lines 5, 6, and 10 the name of the fugitive is followed by the words "he is called (*iw ḏd·t(w) n·f*)"⁹³ the son (of) . . ." and then by the name and title of an official of the town of This. Since the officials referred to — in one case a *wṛb*-priest, in the other, a commander of soldiers (*imy-r mšṛ*) — can hardly have been identical with the fugitives, we take the groups following *iw ḏd·t(w) n·f* not as appellatives of the latter (*Sṛ-Sn-bbw*, *Sṛ-Hpw*), but rather as phrases to be read, respectively, "the son of *Sn-bbw*," "the son of *Hpw*." These, then, were probably peasant boys who for some reason had been adopted as sons by prominent citizens of the town of This and who in the present list are identified through their relatively well known foster fathers.⁹⁴

85. *P. Kah.* 35, 41.

86. *Dav. Rekh.* i, 91; ii, pls. 27 (17-18), 120 (17-18). See also *Gard. Egn. Gr.*, Exercise XXX, iii, where the expression is translated "the officials of the cadaster(?)."

87. *Wb.* iii, 392. See below, under "The 'd' Entries."

88. *Wb.* i, 104 (3); *Gard. Egn. Gr.*, p. 168; Gardiner, *JEA.* 27, 20; *AEO.* A 193.

89. Borchardt, *AZ.* 37, 94.

90. *Op. cit.*, 98.

91. The title is fairly common in the Middle Kingdom. See, for example, Cairo 20691 c, 20761 b.

92. *Wb.* v, 510-11. See *Gard. Egn. Gr.*, pp. 106, 107; *Adm.* 6, 8; *Gard. Sin.*, pp. 77-8 n. 2; *JEA.* 38, 11.13 (Cols. 19, 45); *Vog. Bauer*, 34-5, 187; *P. Kah.* 10, 7-8. 21; 11, 1; pp. 26-7; Baillet, *Rec.* 28, 127-8.

93. See *Gard. Egn. Gr.*, § 377, 1 (p. 295 n. 2).

The fifteen place-names preserved in the "b" entries start on the south with Gebel es Silsileh(?) and, like the similar series of Upper Egyptian place-names in the Ramesseum Onomasticon,⁹⁴ extend northward to ancient Gereget (*Grgt*), situated somewhere between the modern towns of Akhmīm and Sohag. Though here and there we find groups of entries arranged in geographical order from north to south (e.g., Lines 16-21), in general the order in which the fugitives and their home-towns are listed is, geographically speaking, haphazard. This is a pity, especially since two of the place-names — *Št-ḥwi* of Line 17 and *'Ir-n-k* of Line 23 — appear to be otherwise unknown. For the sake of clarity and to facilitate comparison the names of our Upper Egyptian localities are arranged in the following table according to the order (from south to north) in which they occur in the Ramesseum Onomasticon (*On.Ram.*):

<u>Lines</u>	<u>Place-name</u>	<u>Modern Name</u>	<u>On. Ram.</u>
21, 64-65	<i>R-ḥn(y?), Ḥn[y?]</i>	Silsileh(?)	187
18-20	<i>Db</i>	Edfu	190
17, 29(?), 43-45	<i>Št-ḥwi</i>	?	—
16	<i>Pr[Ḥt-Ḥr?]</i>	Gebelein(?)	198
13, 30	<i>'Iwny</i>	Erment	200
14-15	<i>Gbtyw</i>	Ḳuft (Koptos)	205
22	<i>'Iwnt</i>	Denderah	206
23	<i>'Ir-n-k</i>	?	—
1-2, 26-27, 60-61	<i>Btyw</i>	?	208
25, 59	<i>Ḥwt-šm(-Ḥpr-k-R)</i>	Hū	209
12, 24	<i>Ḥnw(?)-'Imn-m-ḥst</i>	?	210
[28], 62	<i>Wḥ-sw(-Ḥ-kw-R)</i>	?	211
5-7, 9, [10], 32-35, 63	<i>Tn(i)</i>	Girga (This)	213
4, 34-36	<i>Ḥnt-Mnw</i>	Akhmīm	215
37	<i>Grgt</i>	?	216

Most of these names are discussed, with ample references, by Sir Alan Gardiner in his *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*⁹⁵ and present no extraordinary difficulties in their reading and identification. *Ḥn...* (= Khen [y?], Silsileh) of Lines 64 ff. seems certain enough; and the reading given in Plate I A for the group preceding *-ḥn* in Line 21, though open to question, suits the hieratic fairly well and results in the combination *R-ḥn*, "mouth"⁹⁷ or "door of rowing," a not unlikely variant of

94. On adoption in ancient Egypt, including the adoption of children of low social status by persons of wealth and position, see Gardiner, *JEA*. 26, 23-29.

95. Nos. 187-216. See *AEO*. i, p. 11; ii, pp. 1*-44*; pls. 24-25. See also Nims, *JNES*. 9, 254; Grdseloff, *Ann*. 51, 159-62; Vand. *Mo.*, pp. 24-34; Gauthier, *Dict. géog.*

96. ii, pp. 1*-44*; pls. 24-25.

97. Cf. *Wb*. ii, 391 (1): "Mündung eines Flusses."

the name of the gorge at Silsileh.⁹⁸ The reading *Hnw-Imn-m-ḥst*, "Resting-place⁹⁹ of (King-) Amenemḥet," for the place-name of Lines 12 and 24 is offered with reservations. The name written in this general fashion occurs elsewhere only in the Ramesseum Onomasticon (No. 210) where the bird-sign preceding the cartouche (read by Gardiner as "*Bj(?)*") is badly damaged (*AEO*. pl. II). In our papyrus the hieratic sign in both instances has a prominent tick over its back, suggesting some form of the flying or alighting duck (*Möll. Pal.* i, Nos. 221 ff.), and what appears to be an additional sign below it. However it is to be read, the location of *Hnw ?* (or *Bj ?*)-*Imn-m-ḥst* between the modern towns of Hū and Girga and its identity with a place known in the XVIIIth Dynasty as *Hwt-wrt-Imn-m-ḥst* seem established beyond a reasonable doubt.¹⁰⁰ An accompanying entry in the Ramesseum Onomasticon indicates that the king referred to in this place-name was Amenemḥet III.¹⁰¹ If we are right in supposing that the entries of Lines 16-20 are arranged in geographical sequence from north to south, then the otherwise undocumented *Shṯ-ḥwṯ* of Line 17 (also 29(?) and 43-5) is to be sought for somewhere between Gebelein (16 ?) and Edfu (18-20). By the same token *Ir-n-kj* of Line 23 would lie to the north of *Iwnt* (Denderah) and probably to the south of *Bjtyw* and *Hwt-shm* of Lines 25-27. Unlike the careful entries of the Ramesseum Onomasticon (Nos. 209, 211) we find in these rapid notations only the abbreviated writings of *Hwt-shm*¹⁰² (-*Hpr-kj-Rr*) and *Wjḥswt* (-*Hr-kjw-Rr*), place-names compounded with the praenomina of Kings Senwosret I and III, respectively. I had originally transcribed the determinative of *Hnt-Mnw* of Lines 4 and 34 with the city-sign (O 49); but Gardiner pointed out to me that the hieratic form could just as well stand for the stone-slab (O 39), the more usual determinative of this place-name.¹⁰³ In Line 4 the expression "the district (*w*) which is in the midst of *Hnt-Mnw*" suggests that here the name refers to the Panopolite Nome rather than merely to the town of Akhmīm.

In his review of Gardiner's *Onomastica Nims*, seeking some explanation of the fact that "the list of towns covers somewhat less than half the length of the Nile Valley between Aswan and Cairo," suggested that this might represent either "the political situation at a period when the Theban suzerainty extended no farther" or merely "the limit of interest of the compiler" of the list.¹⁰⁴ The appearance in our

98. We may compare the similarly composed place-name Mi-khenu (*Mr-ḥnw*) which occurs several times in the great Wilbour Papyrus (*Wilb. Comm.*, Table II, No. 94). Other place-names compounded with *r*, "door," include *R-wr* in the Panopolite nome (*Bull.* 4, 59) and *R-šm*, the Upper Egyptian border-fortress (*Wb.* ii, 390 (16)).

99. *Wb.* iii, 288 (14); *Gard. Egn. Gr.*, p. 585.

100. *AEO*. ii, p. 34*.

101. See *AEO*. i, p. 12; pl. 2.

102. On the value of the scepter-sign (S 42) followed by the stroke, as here, see *JEA*. 31, 6 n. 7.

103. See *AEO*. i, p. 12; ii, pp. 40*, 41*.

104. *JNES*. 9, 254.

late XIIth Dynasty lists of essentially the same group of towns would seem to rule out both of these not at all unreasonable explanations and force us to seek another. My own feeling is that the stretch of territory between the Nubian frontier and a town near Akhmīm might well represent the late Middle Kingdom version of the so-called Head of the South (*tp rsy*). This, then, would have been that part of Egypt administered in behalf of the pharaoh at It-towy by the Reporter (*whmw*) of the Department (*wrt*) of the Head of the South, whose office, as I have suggested elsewhere,¹⁰⁶ was probably at Thebes, in the approximate geographic center of the territory involved.

3. THE "c" ENTRIES

As frequently in legal and business documents of the Middle Kingdom and later times each name in our lists is followed, in a separate column, by the designation "man" or, in one instance, "woman."¹⁰⁶ These entries, written in black ink by the scribes who drew up the lists themselves, consist in each case of the short diagonal blob which in hieratic texts of this class stands for the ideogram of the seated man (A 1) or, in Line 63 c, of the only slightly more complex sign (Möll. *Pal.* i, No. 61 B) which is the abbreviated hieratic writing of the ideogram of the seated woman (B 1). In Lines 25-80 the accompanying stroke (Z 1) is merely to indicate that the preceding sign is an ideogram.¹⁰⁷ It is almost certainly not to be read as the numeral "1." From its absence in Lines 1-24 and in other lists of this period its use appears to have been a matter of choice with the individual scribe. Containing no information which is not inherent in the preceding columns, it is doubtful to what extent the "c" entries were intended to be read at all. They serve, however, as a convenient means of checking rapidly the number, sex, and adulthood¹⁰⁸ of the persons listed; and also help to re-establish the number, spacing, and alignment of the entries in the preceding columns and to tie them in with the corresponding entries in the columns to follow.

The red entries in front of and occasionally overlapping upon the black signs in the "c" column of Lines 1-8 (-24?) were added by a scribe who evidently felt the desirability of more explicit classification of the fugitives than the simple "man" of the original entries. These red entries we see to be of two types. In Lines 1, 2, 5, 6,

105. *JNES.* 12, 32-3.

106. *P. Kah.* 9, 3-7. 17-21; 10, 8-20. 22-24; 13, 2-4. 14-18. 30-33; 14, 15-24; 22, 50-61; p. 37; *AZ.* 37, 95-96; *L.D.* iii, 12 c; Smither, *JEA.* 27, pl. 9, Lines 2-6, 18-22.

107. Gard. *Egn. Gr.*, § 25 and Sign-list under Z 1 (p. 535).

108. In addition to men and women, children (designated as such) are frequently named in lists of this period. See the list on the *verso* of this papyrus (Plates VIII ff., the "d" entries) and *P. Kah.*, pls. 9, 10, 13.

and 7 we have without much doubt an abbreviated writing of the well known and recently much discussed title *ihwty* (or *hwty*), "cultivator."¹⁰⁹ If the title is here meant to describe the fugitives' normal occupation and position in life we should probably translate it as "farmer" or "tenant-farmer." If, on the other hand, it refers to the tasks to which as government workers they had recently been assigned, then "field-laborer" or "fieldhand" would seem to be the better rendering. Of the two possibilities the latter appears to be the more probable. A third possibility is that the title refers, not to the fugitives themselves, but to the persons into whose charge they were assigned, in which case "farmer" is of course preferable. This, too, would permit us to translate the otherwise enigmatic *wr* of Lines 3, 4, and 8 as "great one," "magnate," or perhaps "official" — in contrast to "farmer."¹¹⁰ If, however, *wr*, as seems more likely, is in fact a designation of the fugitives, its significance is something of a puzzle. Conceivably it could mean "foreman" or "aged man"¹¹¹ (i.e., a man too old for hard field labor); or it could be an abbreviated writing of a longer word, such as *wršy*, "watchman."¹¹²

However we may translate *wr*, the presence of the designation *ihwty* opposite the names of most of the fugitives of the first section of our list tends to confirm the impression gained from the "b" entries that these men had been drafted chiefly as fieldhands. From numerous texts of the New Kingdom we know that the lot of the *ihwty*, whether a tenant-farmer or a fieldhand, was a hard one. "Being placed as a field-laborer (*ihwty*)" on a temple estate is cited among a number of inhumanly cruel punishments in the Nauri decree of King Sethy I.¹¹³ Fugitives from such an existence were naturally not uncommon. In Papyrus Bologna 1094 (2,7 — 3,5) we hear, for example, of "two of the cultivators of the *minē*-lands of Pharaoh" who "have fled before the face of the stable-master, Neferhōtep, having been beaten by him."¹¹⁴

4. THE "d" ENTRIES

The names and identities of the fugitives having been recorded in Columns a-c, we come now to copies or résumés of a series of government directives issued concerning them to the *hnrt wr* at Thebes. Since these directives were concerned throughout

109. Gardiner, *Wilb. Comm.*, 55, 66, 69, 70, 76, 82, 198; *JEA.* 27, 21-22; 38, 12; *Adm.* 3, 6; *Egn. Gr.*, Sign-list, T 24; Baillet, *Rec.* 27, 203-204; Edgerton, *JNES.* 6, 222 n. 20.

110. It may be worth noting that in the corresponding "b" entries the fugitive either bears an official title himself (4) or is associated with titled officials (3, 8).

111. *Wb.* i, 327 (II.a).

112. *Wb.* i, 336. On "abbreviations used in inventories or the like" see *AEO.* i, 11; also *P. Kah.* 14, 23-39 (p. 41).

113. *Nauri.* 52. 73. 118; Edgerton, *JNES.* 6, 223. 224. 227; Gardiner, *JEA.* 38, 12.

114. Gardiner, *Late Eg. Misc. (Bibl. Aeg. vii)*, 3; *Wilb. Comm.* 78-9 n. 6.

with only one type of offense, committed in each instance under similar circumstances, it is not surprising to find that most of them adhere with only minor variations to a single, oft-repeated formula. The most completely preserved example of this formula is found in Lines 55-6 (Plate VI):

"It (an order or directive) was issued to the Great Prison (in) Regnal Year 31, Month 2 of Shōmu, last day, to release his people in (or from) the law-court, being (an order) issued in order to execute against him the law pertaining to one who deliberately deserts (*tšw n wšwš*) for 6 months."

The same formula was evidently employed in Lines 1, 3, 8, 10, 14, 15, 25-53, 54, 59-63, and 59-70. In Lines 1, 3, 14, 25-53, and 54, however, the law invoked is called that "pertaining to those who flee (*wʿrw*) the Prison" or, as in Line 15, "the Great [Prison]." In Line 10 it is simply "the law pertaining to deserters (*tšw*)." The woman of Line 63 is to be punished in accordance with "the law pertaining to him who runs away (*wʿr*) without performing his service"; and in Lines 64-70 reference is made to the law which covers "deliberate desertion of [one's?] labors." The omission of *hr·f*, "his people," after *wʿr* in Lines 59 ff. is probably attributable to a piece of scribal carelessness.

In somewhat later legal and administrative documents of the Second Intermediate Period and the New Kingdom the verb *šwʿ*, literally "extend," "stretch out," is the expression regularly used, as here in the heading and text of our formula, to describe the issuance of orders, and especially of royal decrees, to specified bureaus of the pharaonic administration.¹¹⁵ Invariably in these texts it is accompanied by a word for "order" (*wḏ*, *wḏwt*) or "document" (*snn*) and is more often than not used, as in the body of our directives, in a participial form — "a deed issued (*šwy*)," "a decree addressed (*šwyṯ*)" ¹¹⁶ In our present headings the form of the verb is unquestionably the passive *šdm·f* used impersonally without an expressed subject, "it was issued" or, perhaps, "issue was made" (Gard. *Egn. Gr.* § 422, 1). The masculine form of the perfective passive participle, *šwy* (Lines 10, 54-6, 63), must mean that before it a masculine antecedent — presumably *wḏ*, "order" — is to be understood. I had once thought that *šwy* might be a perfective active participle with the y-ending occasionally found in this form (Gard. *Egn. Gr.* § 359) and that the phrases " *m ḏḏḏt m šwy* might be read "(to release his people) from the council (and) from the issuer (of the directive)" — that is, from the jurisdiction both of the

115. *Wb.* i, 5 (11); Budge, *Dictionary*, 3 A; *P. Boul.* xviii. 19. 45. 70 (*ÄZ.* 57, 53); *P. Berlin* 10470, I, 8 (*JEA.* 34, 31, pl. 7); *Cairo J.52453*, 22 (Lacau, *Stèle juridique*, 37-9); Spiegelberg, *Rec.* 25, 191. 193; de Rougé, *Inscr. hiérog.* pl. 256; *Cat. d. Mon.* I. 118 c, 3; *Nauri.* 29 and *Elephantine.* 3 (*JEA.* 13, 200. 207); Spiegelberg, *Studien und Materialien zum Rechtswesen des Pharaonenreiches, der Dynast. XVIII-XXI*, pp. 95-97.

116. *P. Boul.* xviii. 19. 45. 70 (*ÄZ.* 57, 53); *Nauri.* 29 (see also Edgerton, *JNES.* 6, 220).

local board of officials¹¹⁷ and of the bureau of the central government which issued the present orders and which presumably exercised supervisory control over cases of this type. Though this interpretation seems less likely than the one adopted, it is a possibility not to be entirely overlooked.

Major interest naturally attaches to the identity of the issuing authority. In almost all of the examples of the use of *ḥwṯ* listed in footnote 115 the "issuer" was, as already remarked, the king himself, with the Office of the Vizier frequently in the rôle of addressee. In our Insertion "C" (Line 7), however, it is the vizier who is to "cause (a directive) to be issued (*ḥw·tw*)"; and in Papyrus Bulak 18 (XXIX, 11) reference is made to the "copy of a document (*snn*) issued (*ḥwy*) to the three *wṛwt* by" a minor official called an *īry-ṯ n wṛšw*. In the case of our present directives it seems highly unlikely that the pharaoh would have concerned himself personally with the fate of a batch of runaway peasants; and I am strongly inclined to identify the originator of these orders as either the Office of the Vizier or that of one of his representatives in southern Upper Egypt — the Reporter of the *wṛt* of the Head of the South, the Reporter of the Southern City, or a Scribe of the Vizier resident at Thebes. Suggestive of this is the fact that the successful termination of the cases against these people — i.e., the execution of the provisions of the directives in question — is attested to in the written notations of the "f" entries by "Scribe(s) of the Vizier."

Of equal interest are the problems associated with the key-word *ḥnrt*, "prison," and the expression *ḥnrt wr*, "the Great Prison," "the Main Prison."¹¹⁸ Since in hieratic texts the form of the *ḥnr*-sign (U 31) is indistinguishable from that of the *ḥnt*-sign (D 19, 20) our word *ḥnrt* not infrequently appears in both ancient and modern hieroglyphic versions of such texts written with the latter sign.¹¹⁹ Gender,¹²⁰ meaning, and range of meaning being the same for both writings, it is, I think, clear that we are dealing with only one word, to be read throughout *ḥnrt*, and that the writing of this word with the "nose-eye-and-cheek"-sign is merely an oft-repeated and

117. A more detailed consideration of the word *dḏst* and the phrase *m dḏst* will follow shortly.

118. For valuable discussions of *ḥnrt* and related words see especially Spiegelberg, *Studien und Materialien zum Rechtswesen*, pp. 64-66; Gardiner, *Adm.* pp. 46-47; and Posener, *La première Domination perse (Bibl. d'Étude, XI)*, pp. 8-9.

119. See Gard. *Egn. Gr.*, Vocabulary XX n. 1 (p. 201); sign-list, D 19 (p. 444). The writing of U 31 for D 19 or 20, though much more rare, is also known: *Urk.* iv, 76. See also Dévaud, *Rec.* 39, 20.

120. In spite of the *t*-ending both *ḥnrt* and "*ḥnt*" appear from the gender of their modifying adjectives and associated suffix pronouns to be masculine. See, for example, *ḥnrt nty* . . . and *ḥnrt pn* of Berlin P. 10021, 5 and 7 (Scharff, *AZ.* 59, 33-4, Sheet 9), and of course the common *ḥnrt n(y)* . . . , *ḥnrt wr*. The single example of *ḥnrt wrt* cited by Gardiner in *Adm.*, p. 47, is suspect, the final *t* probably belonging, not with *wr*, but with the following group *tm* . . . (see Dav. *Rekh.* pl. 26, Line 14). Equally questionable is the final *t* (= *r* ?) of the title *sḥ n ḥnrt wrt* as given by Petrie in *Ancient Egypt*, 1927, p. 121, No. 1179.

more or less self-perpetuating error in transcription.¹²¹ In *Westc.* 8, 15 and *Adm.* 6, 10 we have, for example, pretty sure instances of *hnrt* mis-transcribed and misread as *hnt* and in *Adm.* 6, 5 and 12, groups which are certainly to be emended to read *hnrt wr*. In the relatively few hieroglyphic texts in which *hnrt* is written with Sign D 19 the purely graphic substitution of this sign for U 31 is obvious.¹²² There is, on the other hand, a substantive *hnt(y)*, usually written with the "water-pots-in-a-rack"-sign (*W* 17, 18), which, though closely related to *hnrt*, is probably to be recognized as a separate word.¹²³

Derived almost certainly from *hnr*, to "restrain," to "confine" (*Wb.* iii, 295-6), the root meaning of *hnrt*, as Gardiner has pointed out, is probably "place of restraint," "place of confinement" (*Wilb.* Comm. 18).¹²⁴ The English translation "prison" is strongly supported by a number of different associations and contexts. There is, first off, the closely related word *hnrti*, "prisoner" (*Wb.* iii, 296); and in *Westc.* 8, 15, the king suggests that for an experiment involving the cutting off of a head there be taken "a prisoner (*hnrti*) who is in the prison (*hnrt*) that his punishment may be inflicted." The same association of the two words (written *hny* and *hniw*) occurs in a Ptolemaic statue-inscription of the reign of Queen Arsinoe I(?) (*Urk.* ii, 61, 4). "Never," says Pepyankhe the Middle of Meir, "was I placed under guard, never was I imprisoned ([*h*]nr[*t*])" (*Meir.* iv, pl. IV A, 2, Lines 2-3). Referring to his investment of the walled town of Megiddo King Thutmose III twice describes his enemies as placed or confined "in a prison (*hnrt*) of their (own) building" (*Urk.* iv, 184; 758, 16). In the Prophecy of Neferrohu *hnrt* occurs in a passage (Pap. Petersburg 1116 B, *verso*, 33) which Gardiner (*JEA.* i, 104) has translated "men shall enter the strongholds(?)" and Erman-Blackman (*Literature*, 113), "men shall force their way into houses(?)" but which might perhaps be rendered "men shall enter prison (of their own accord)" — a characteristically exaggerated illustration of how desperate conditions were to become.

While "prison" is probably as good a one-word translation of *hnrt* as can be achieved it almost certainly does not convey a complete picture of the institution in question. Though the ancient Egyptian *hnrt* may well have included a fortress-like structure in which convicted offenders were locked up in cells or dungeons, it appears to have functioned also as a workhouse or labor-camp, a sort of combined barracks and administrative center for housing, disciplining, and directing the efforts of those unfortunates condemned temporarily or permanently to a life of compulsory

121. A conclusion evidently reached by the compilers of the *Wörterbuch* where the single reading *hnr·t* is given for both writings of the word: see *Wb.* iii, 296-7.

122. See Posener, *Op. cit.*, p. 8; Lange and Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine*, iii, p. 71; *Urk.* iv, 184; 758, 16.

123. *Wb.* iii, 297 and 307. See the discussions by Gardiner and Posener cited above, in footnote 118.

124. See also Gard. *Egn. Gr.*, Vocabulary XX n. 1 (p. 201); sign-list, D 19 (p. 444).

labor on behalf of the state. Its inmates evidently included not only convicted criminals, some awaiting execution for capital crimes,¹²⁵ but also gangs of statute laborers such as the peasants named in our present lists. Since it seems to have been necessary to have a law making it a crime to flee (*w(r)*), or run away from, a *hnrt* (Lines 1, 3, 14, 25-54) it may be assumed that escape from its general confines presented no particular physical or mechanical difficulties.

From our present texts we learn that, like our modern prisons, it was a function of the *hnrt*, and especially the *hnrt wr* at Thebes, to carry out the sentences prescribed by law against persons guilty of crimes. In most cases the determination of guilt was probably not an elaborate process¹²⁶ and in such an obvious breach of the criminal law as desertion from a government-imposed labor assignment it is not unlikely that pronouncement of sentence followed more or less directly upon the discovery of the crime. There appears, however, to have been either a type of *hnrt* or a department of every *hnrt* in which criminal hearings were held. A Middle Kingdom letter from el Lahūn mentions the turning over of a runaway slave (*hm-nsw*) to the *hnrt n sdm(?)* which Griffith translates "the prison of trial";¹²⁷ and the title "Scribe of the *hnrt n sdm*" is known from at least two stelae of the same period, one in the Louvre,¹²⁸ the other in the British Museum.¹²⁹ The fact that on the latter of these monuments the owner states that he was appointed by "His Majesty" first to be a Scribe of the *hnrt n sdm* and then to be a Scribe of the *hnrt* suggests that the "prison of trial" was either a part of the "Great Prison" or a separate institution subordinate to it. "If this book be read," runs a passage in Papyrus Leiden 347 cited by Gardiner in *Adm.* p. 46, "he (the reader) hungers not and thirsts not; he does not enter into the *hnrt(?)*,¹³⁰ he does not come forth judged from it; if (however) he enters into the *hnrt(?)*, he comes forth acquitted." In *Adm.* 6, 9-10, reference is made to "the laws (*hpw*) of the *hnrt*" and two lines later the "*hnt*" (= *hnrt ?*) is mentioned in parallel with the *hwt wryt*, or "Great Mansions," as if it too was or contained a court of justice. There is, then, good reason for supposing that the *hnrt*'s, in addition to their principal function as prisons, were the seats of Egypt's criminal courts or rather, perhaps, the places where its courts (*ḏḏt*,¹³¹ *knbt*, etc.) convened when trying criminal cases. There is evidence, too, that the *hnrt wr* maintained an archive of legal records restricted, we may assume, to matters of a

125. *Westc.* 8, 15; *P. Kah.* 34, 21 and 37; cf. *P. Mayer A* (Peet), 13, B 4.

126. See Peet, *The Great Tomb Robberies . . .*, pp. 15-27 and especially 20 ff. See also *JEA.* 22, 169-193; 23, 152-164.

127. *P. Kah.* 34, 21, p. 79.

128. Louvre. C. 186 (*Wb.* iii, 297 [1]).

129. Brit. Mus. 828, 8 (*Hierogl. Texts*, ii, pl. 21).

130. Gardiner reads *hnty*, "law-court," but see above notes 119-122 and the accompanying text.

131. In Naville's *Festival Hall*, pl. 25, 6, p. 30, Posener (*Loc. cit.*) has found mention of a *ḏḏt* of the *hnrt wr*.

criminal nature which had come or were to come under its jurisdiction. "The Great Prison,"¹³² moans Ipuwēr, "its writings are taken away." "Then entry," says the compiler of the Duties of the Vizier, "is to be made in the criminal register which is in the Main Prison (*hnrt wr*)."¹³³

It was presumably chiefly for this purpose that the Great Prison and apparently some of the lesser prisons maintained what seem to have been good-sized clerical staffs. The title "Scribe of the *hnrt wr*" (less frequently, "Scribe of the *hnrt*") is common in the XIIth and XIIIth Dynasties and reappears spasmodically thereafter.¹³⁴ Indeed, the term *hnrt wr* has up till now been so rarely identified outside of this title that the title itself has been thought to mean, not the Scribe of the Great Prison, but the Great Scribe of the Prison.¹³⁵ The writings of *hnrt wr* preserved in the vertical headings to our Lines 1-24 d and 55-80 d should, however, dispel any doubts on this score. The director, or supervisor, of a prison was called an *imy-r hnrt*, but the title is rare and I know of less than half a dozen examples altogether.¹³⁶ The title *ss(w)ty n hnrt*, "prison-keeper," "prison-guard," occurs on an unpublished stela of the New Kingdom in Cairo cited by *Wb.* iii, 296, Belegst. 19. A fourth title, "Overseer of Scribes of the Great Prison," has been found, to date, only in inscriptions of the Late Dynastic Period.¹³⁷ Further titles associated with Egypt's prisons (*ss n hnrt n sdm*, *dsdjt nt hnrt*) have been referred to above. From the well known stela of Simontu in the British Museum (No. 828) it would appear that in the XIIth Dynasty appointments to posts in the prisons administration were made or approved by the king himself. Other titles borne by prison officials tend to link the *hnrt* on the one hand with the judiciary division of the pharaonic government and on the other hand with the departments of agriculture and public works. Simontu, for example, was not only Scribe of the Great Prison, but also Scribe of the Mat (*ss n tmj*),¹³⁸ Account-

132. *Hnrt wr* (*Adm.* 6, 5) — an extremely likely emendation of the otherwise unknown expression *hnt dsr*. Cf. the repetition of the determinative (O 1) after the adjective in *hnrt wr* of *Adm.* 6, 12.

133. *Dav. Rekh.* p. 91, pl. 26, Col. 14.

134. See Lange and Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine*, iii, p. 71; *P. Boul.* xviii. pls. 47 ff. *passim* (*ÄZ.* 28, 65; 57, 51); *ÄZ.* 39, 117-121; 40, 118-120; Stela, Dyn. XIII-XVII, Metropolitan Museum of Art, acc. no. 22.3.307 (unpublished); Lacau, *Stèle juridique*, 22, 52 (= Cairo J.52453, 12); Petrie, *Ancient Egypt*, 1927, p. 121, No. 1179; Gardiner, *Adm.*, pp. 46-47; Posener, *Loc. cit.*; *Mar. Abyd.* 884.

135. E.g., Posener, *Loc. cit.*; Gardiner, *Adm.*, p. 47. The writing *ss wr n hnrt*, preserved only on Cairo 20322 (MK) may be a misunderstood rendering of our title or may indicate that there actually was an elsewhere unattested title, "Chief Scribe of the Prison."

136. *Wb.* iii, 296, Belegst. 20 (4 examples). The title *imy-r hnrt* was borne also by *Djr*, the owner of a large tomb near Deir el Bahri (No. 366) dated by Winlock to the reign of Nebhepetrē Montuhotpe of Dyn. XI (*BMMA*, March 1932, Sect. ii, pp. 32, 34, figs. 25-31. Here the title is translated — incorrectly, I believe — "Custodian of the King's Harim").

137. Posener, *Loc. cit.*

138. *Wilb.* Comm. 83 n. 3; *AEO.* i, 91*.

ant of Northern Barley in Upper and Lower Egypt, and Overseer of Works in the Entire Land. Centuries after Simontu's time Wedjahorresne counted among his titles those of Inspector of Scribes of the Law-court (*djdt*) and Overseer of Scribes of the Great Prison.¹³⁹ Among a group of associated officials represented and named in Tomb No. 2 at el Bersheh¹⁴⁰ we find standing in order, one behind the other, the Overseer of Fields, the Overseer of the Treasure, the Overseer of the Prison, and the Overseer of Litigation (?) (*imy-r šnt*).¹⁴¹ An interesting passage in Lacau's *Stèle juridique* (Line 12) mentions a Scribe of the Great Prison functioning in a particular case as a substitute for the Scribe of the Reporter of the Northern *wrt*. It appears, oddly enough, to have been a Scribe of the Great Prison named Neferhotep who drew up Papyrus Bulak 18, a journal itemizing the revenues and expenses of the pharaonic court during a month's sojourn at Thebes.¹⁴²

The Great, or Main, Prison (*hnrt wr*) was, then, as we have already had occasion to note,¹⁴³ located at Thebes. Its existence appears to be unrecorded before the Middle Kingdom¹⁴⁴ and the period of its greatest importance — the period during which it is mentioned most frequently and most prominently in Egyptian texts — was without much doubt the XIIth to XVIIth Dynasties. To that period or earlier may belong the original of the well known text detailing the Duties of the Egyptian Vizier, our only copies of which are preserved in the Theban tomb-chapels of three viziers of the mid-XVIIIth Dynasty.¹⁴⁵ A section of this text (Lines 13-15) referring to the *hnrt wr* and its "criminal register" (*šfd n hbnty*) is sufficiently interesting and enlightening to warrant its being quoted here in its entirety: "Now as to the general procedure of the vizier in hearing cases in his hall, if anyone [is not] efficient in any service (*wnwt?*), he (the vizier) is to hear his case in the matter, and if he cannot clear him of the slur (?) when he hears the circumstances of the case, then entry is to be made in the criminal register which is in the main prison, and similarly if he is not able to clear his apparitor of the slur. If it should happen a second time to them, then report is to be made, a communication that they are in the criminal register, and a statement for what reason they were entered on the register in proportion to their offense."¹⁴⁶

139. Posener, *Loc. cit.*

140. *Bersh. i*, pl. 27, bottom.

141. Gard. *Egn. Gr.*, sign-list, V 1 n. 2 (p. 521).

142. *ÄZ.* 28, 65; 57, 51; *JNES.* 12, 36.

143. Above, note 37.

144. *Wb.* iii, 296 — unless of course we suppose the references to the *hnrt* and the *hnrt wr* preserved in *Adm.* to date back in origin to the First Intermediate Period and that in *Westc.* (8, 15) to the Old Kingdom. Neither *hnrt*, "prison," nor *lth*, "prison," are recorded by *Wb.* (iii, 296, and i, 148) before the Middle Kingdom; but the title *imy-r lth*, "Overseer of the Prison," is preserved on a stela of the First Intermediate Period in the Brooklyn Museum (No. 39.1) and earlier examples can undoubtedly be found.

145. Dav. *Rekh.* pp. 88 ff., pls. 26-28, 119-122.

It is probable that, aside from the *hnrt wr*, there was an ordinary prison (*hnrt*) in every good-sized town in Egypt. Often the whereabouts of these local prisons can be inferred from the sources or other characteristics of the texts in which they are mentioned.¹⁴⁷ Berlin Papyrus 10021 refers specifically to "the prison which is in Rē-ḥōnē" — i.e., el Lahūn, at the entrance to the Fayyūm.¹⁴⁸ Since the inmates of this *hnrt* included a female singer (*šmꜣyt*) the word here has been taken to mean "ḥarīm." The text, however, is a list of miscellaneous persons rounded up by an Overseer of Serfs for some work project; and it is likely that the woman referred to was in the *hnrt* for a less laudable reason than her ability to sing. The presence in the same *hnrt* of a "little one" (*kty*: Line 7) is not necessarily indicative of the nature of the institution, for small children would naturally accompany their parents even to the workhouse. "*Hnrt*" appears occasionally to have signified a walled enclosure other than a prison;¹⁴⁹ but there seems to be no good reason for supposing that it was used for "ḥarīm," the word for which was *hnr* when the inmates of the institution were referred to and *pr-hnr* (or *pr-hnt*) when the building which housed them was meant.¹⁵⁰

That the title *šš . . . n pꜣ hr n Hn-hnꜣ* of Pap. Abbott, 5, 16-17 and 6, 9, indicates the presence of a prison in the Theban necropolis¹⁵¹ now seems unlikely,¹⁵² though the element *-hn(r?)ꜣ* in the name *Hn-hnꜣ* probably does mean "-prison." Lost also is Spiegelberg's "prison" of Pap. Leiden 371, 2/4 ff.,¹⁵³ Gardiner and Sethe having subsequently identified the word in question, *hnw*, as simply a variant writing of *hnw*, "house," "home."¹⁵⁴

Beside *hnrt* we find in texts of the Middle and New Kingdoms another common word for "prison," *ith* (*Wb.* i, 148, 24), which also appears to be derived from a

146. *Op. cit.*, p. 91.

147. For example, the Overseer of the Prison, Nakhte, named in Tomb No. 2 at Deir el Bersheh, almost certainly held office at Hermopolis.

148. Scharff, *AZ.* 59, 45-47, Sheet 9, Line 5. On Rē-ḥōnē see Gardiner, *AEO.* ii, p. 116*, No. 392; *Wilb.* Comm., pp. 29, 43, 47, 127; Gauthier, *Dict. géog.* iii, 124 f.

149. *Hat-nub*, Gr. 23, 7 (p. 52); Sethe, *Lesestücke*, No. 21 (p. 82) = Louvre C.1; *Urk.* iv, 897, 6. Meaning respectively "bulwark," "stronghold," and "restricted quarter," *hnrt* in these cases might be thought of as exercising its powers of "restraint" outward rather than inward. Cf. *ith*, "prison," "fortress": *Wb.* i, 148; Vand. *Mo.* 198-9; Spiegelberg, *Studien*, 64, 65. Since in Egypt, as elsewhere, the first prisons were probably the dungeons of fortresses and since the prison has at all times formed an important part or adjunct of the fortress it is not surprising to find the two meanings embraced in a single word.

150. *Wb.* iii, 297. See also, for discussions and different points of view, Scharff, *AZ.* 59, 33-34 and 53; Gardiner, *Egn. Gr.*, sign-list, U 31, and pp. 201 n. 1, 556, 585; *Wilb.* Comm., 18 and 45 n. 8; *JNES.* 12, 145-149.

151. Spiegelberg, *Studien*, 64, 65.

152. See Peet, *The Great Tomb-robberies*, 9 n. 1, 40, 41.

153. Spiegelberg, *Studien*, 65-66.

154. *Egyptian Letters to the Dead*, 9, 23, Pl. 8.

stem embodying a notion of "restraint"¹⁵⁵ and which also — in its earlier occurrences — has the meaning of "fortress" or "bulwark."¹⁵⁶ Like the *hnrt*-prison the *ith*-prison was administered by an "Overseer," the title *imy-r ith* occurring as early as the First Intermediate Period on a stela in the Brooklyn Museum.¹⁵⁷ The Great, or Main, Prison, to be sure, is never referred to as the *ith wr* or *ith r*, the term *ith* being either confined to small, local jails¹⁵⁸ or used with the general meaning of "prison" in such expressions as "being put in prison," or "imprisoned."¹⁵⁹ Otherwise *ith* parallels *hnrt* so closely in its usage and meaning that the two words would seem for the most part to be no more than variant terms for the same institutions. In three documents of the Ramesside Period, for example, we find the *ith*-prison performing the same functions and being used for the same purposes as the *hnrt*-prison of our present texts. Pap. Leiden I. 368, 7-9, tells us of six runaway slaves who when captured were committed to "the little prison (*ith šri*) of the Overseer of the Treasury";¹⁶⁰ in Pap. Lansing, 10, 7, "all . . . the people (*rmt*)" of a soldier who had deserted from the army (*sw pry m tš*) are "locked up in prison (*ddhw m ith*)" because of his offense;¹⁶¹ and in Pap. Anastasi VI, 2, 2, we hear of a sailor being sentenced to prison (*ith*) in the town of *Tbnt* for twenty-three days, but being employed while there to cultivate (*sk*) public lands in charge of a local official.¹⁶²

Returning to our texts after this long digression we come next to the dating of the "d" entries, which runs, insofar as it is preserved, as follows:

Lines 1-2. Year 10, Month [2]¹⁶³ of Prōy[et], Day . ? .

3. Year 10, Month 2 of Prō[yet, Day . ? .]

4-7. "Likewise" (*mītt*)

8. Year 10, Month 2 of Prōyet, Day 6

9-24. . . ? . . (date changes at Lines 10, 14, 15 ?)

25-35. . . ? . . (probably the same as in Lines 36-52)

36-52. . . ? . . , . . ? . . , (Day) 23

53, 54. . . ? . . (date changes in both lines ?)

155. *Wb.* i, 148, 12 ff. See Hayes, *Ostraka and Name-stones*, pp. 31-2.

156. *Wb.* i, 148, 25; *Hat-Nub*, Gr. 20, 13 (cf. 23, 4, and 25, 7, and see Anthes, pp. 43, 44, 46, 53); *Siut*, III, 18 (see Brunner, *Ägyptologische Forschungen*, Heft 5, pp. 18, 22, 45); Cairo 20512, b, 3; Vand. Mo. 198.

157. Accession No. 39.1. Unpublished.

158. See below, footnotes 160 and 162.

159. Pap. Brit. Mus. 10683 (Pap. Chester Beatty III), 8, 5 (Gardiner, *Hieratic Papyri Brit. Mus.*, 3rd series, p. 17, Pl. 7); and an ostrakon in Turin published by Maspero, *Rec.* 2, 116-7.

160. Leemans, *Monumens égyptiennes*, Pl. 179 (IIe Partie); Spiegelberg, *Studien*, 65.

161. Gardiner, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies (Bibl. Aeg. 7)*, 109; Blackman and Peet, *JEA.* 11, 293.

162. Gardiner, *Op. cit.*, 73.

163. The remaining trace makes this restoration practically certain. Cf. Lines 3 and 8, and Möller, *Pal.* i, No. 311.

55. Year 31, Month 2 of Shōmu, Last Day¹⁶⁴
 56. Month 2 of Shōmu, Last Day
 57. Month 3 of Shōmu, Day 5
 58. " 9
 59-80. (Presumably the same as Line 58 throughout)

Though a span of more than twenty-one years separated the issuance of the directives of Lines 1 ff. from those of Lines 55 ff.,¹⁶⁵ within each of the three sections of the list the time intervals between issues were extremely brief, amounting nowhere to more than five or six days. The orders of Lines 1-7 were all issued during the first five days of the second month of Prōyet in the tenth year of the reign of King Amenemhēt III (?), those of Lines 3-7 on one of these five days, that of Line 8 on the sixth day of the same month, and those of Lines 9-24 probably within a few days thereafter. With the possible exception of Lines 53 and 54 it looks as if identical instructions concerning all the persons listed in the second section were promulgated on a single day — the twenty-third day of an unknown month in a year falling somewhere between Amenemhēt III (?)’s tenth and thirty-first. Ten days in Regnal Year 31 — from Month 2 of Shōmu, Last Day, to Month 3 of Shōmu, Day 9 — seem to have comprised the total period during which all the directives of Lines 55-80 were addressed to the Great Prison. Though brief, the intervals between the issues of each series were not regular, ranging from a few hours to four, five, or six days. It is evident, then, that the directives were not issued originally according to any sort of pre-determined schedule, but as circumstances required — that is, presumably, as the cases of the runaway laborers were reported to and subsequently decided upon by the issuing authority. In our present document the copies or résumés of the two dozen or so directives pertaining to each section of the list were entered in a group, those of Lines 1-24 d some time after the list of persons of Lines 1-24 a-c was drawn up and by a different scribe, those of Lines 25-54 d and 55-80 d at the same time as the immediately preceding lists of names and by the same scribe.¹⁶⁶ In other words, the transcripts preserved in each section of the *recto* of our papyrus postdate by an indeterminate period of time — perhaps by only a day or so, perhaps by years — the day on which the last of the directives recorded in that section was actually issued.

So much is clear enough. What is puzzling is the fact that what we appear to have here are the records of labor desertions in southern Upper Egypt during a two-week(?) period in Year 10, a ten-day period in Year 31, and a period of perhaps only

164. *crky* (*Wb.* i, 212). The unusual hieratic form of the band-of-string sign (V 12) seen here (Plate VI) is found also in the Semnah Despatches: Smither, *JEA.* 31, Pls. III, 7; IV, 7, 13 (*crky*); V, 6; and VI, 8 (see Gunn’s comment on p. 5). See, too, our Dyn. XIII texts: Insertion B, Lines 2 and 4 (Plate V); and Insertion C, Lines 2 and 3 (Plate VI).

165. The year-dates are discussed above, in Chapter I, Sections 2 and 3.

166. See above, Chapter I, Section 2.

two or three days in some year in between. It is possible, of course, that these seventy-six instances represent the total number of desertions in this area over a period of twenty-one years — desertions which occurred in brief and widely spaced outbursts or epidemics. It seems more likely, however, that we are dealing here with groups of cases selected out of hundreds of others because of some characteristic which they had in common or because of some special interest which they may have had for the compiler of the lists. If this is so then seventy-six desertions in something like a month's time may be taken to represent the year-in, year-out average for the labor camps in this section of the country.

The first provision of the directives proper — “to release his people in (or from) the court” — suggests that when the absence of the absconding laborers was first discovered their families and other members of their households were seized and held as security for them under the jurisdiction of a court or council (*dꜣdꜣt*); and that, the fugitives themselves now having been caught or adjudged solely responsible for their offense, it is the desire of the issuing authority that the court take the necessary legal action to set free their innocent dependents.

Whꜣ, “to release,” is evidently an infinitive used in normal fashion after the preposition *r* and the passive *sꜣm·f*, *ꜣw*, to introduce and state the initial purpose of the directive.¹⁶⁷ The *Wörterbuch* does not seem to know the verb *whꜣ* in its present meaning of “loosing,” or “setting free,” from legally imposed restraint or confinement;¹⁶⁸ and parallels, it must be confessed, are rather surprisingly rare. We find one, however, in Line 16 of the Israel Stela where it is said of King Merneptah that “he sets free (*whꜣ·f*) the many who are imprisoned (*ꜣdh*) in every district.”¹⁶⁹

After *whꜣ* in Lines 54-57 Gardiner and Černý have suggested reading *hr(y)w*, taking the second ligature in the word to be, not the man and woman over plural strokes (see under A 1), but the cursive *w* (Z 7) and the seated man (A 1) over plural strokes (= *Wb.* iii, 392 [2-3]). The hieratic, however, seems to suit the reading given in my transcriptions (Plates IV, VI) at least equally well¹⁷⁰ and the word *hr* written in this manner (= *Wb.* iii, 392 [4-7]) is so exceedingly common in texts of this class and period that it is hard to believe that that is not what we have here. Exhibiting in different contexts a number of different shades of meaning — “relations” (“Angehörige”), “dependents,” “household,” “subjects,” “subordinates,” “inferiors,” “inhabitants”¹⁷¹ — *hr* is probably in general best translated, as here, by the somewhat

167. Gard. *Egn. Gr.* § 304, 3.

168. See *Wb.* i, 348-9. On p. 349 (IV. Belegst. 3) we find only the vaguely related meaning “eine Person von etw. Bösem (*m* oder *mꜣ*) erlösen.”

169. Petrie, *Six Temples*, pls. 13, 14 (p. 27); Spiegelberg, *AZ.* 34, 5. 13; Breasted, *Ancient Records*, iii, § 613. For *ꜣdh*, “(be) imprison(ed),” see, for example, Pap. Mayer A, 13, B.4 (Peet, *The Mayer Papyri A and B*, p. 18; *Great Tomb Robberies*, p. 26).

170. See Möll. *Pal.* i, Anhang, LIX, “Illahun,” “Sinuhe,” and “Bulaq 18.”

noncommittal English expression "the people of" such-and-such a person or place.¹⁷³ Since it is unlikely that the peasants of our lists possessed servants, tenants, or the like, it would seem that all that is actually embraced by "hr" in the present texts are the families of the fugitives.

Regarding the phrase which follows Gardiner has written me, "I feel sure that *m dḏst* means 'in the court' i.e. by judicial decision. *Dḏst* is not uncommon in this sense, see *JEA* 34, Pl. 8 a, 1.11." While this interpretation of the expression should, it is agreed, be given preference, we cannot overlook the fact that after verbs meaning to "free," "release" (including both *šw* and *wḥr* itself), the preposition *m* can and frequently does mean "from . . ." ¹⁷⁴ If it does here then our people could be thought of as released, not by action of a court of law, but from the jurisdiction of a body of officials who may in these instances have been functioning in a purely administrative capacity. In support of such a supposition it may be pointed out that the directives themselves were all the authority required by the Great Prison to effect the releases, which, though subject perhaps to legal procedure, were not dependent upon any sort of judicial decision. Furthermore, though there is ample evidence that the *dḏwt* frequently — especially in the Old Kingdom — performed the functions of courts of law,¹⁷⁴ they appear to have been basically administrative and advisory bodies, best described as "councils." ¹⁷⁵ The *dḏst* of Line 31 b, above, for example,

171. Beside the references cited in *Wb.* iii, 392 (4-7), see Clère, *JEA*. 35, 39 n. 5; Alliot, *Tell Edfou* (1933), 31 and pl. 15, 1; Griffith, *P. Kah.*, p. 22; Gard. *Egn. Gr.*, pp. 398, 400 (Exerc. XXXII, (b) 4), 587; Gard. *Sin.*, 171; Gardiner, *JEA*. 38, 12, pl. 5, Col. 35; Scharff, *ÄZ.* 59, 40 (Berlin P. 10020); Baillet, *Rec.* 27, 33; 28, 125-6. Engelbach (*Ann.* 23, 183-4) translates the epithet *wḥr n hr·f*, "a unique one of his race."

172. See especially Vog. *Bauer*, pp. 88, 89, 91, 93, 232, and 242 ("Leute(n)").

173. Gard. *Egn. Gr.* § 162, 8; *Wb.* i, 349 (3).

174. Harari, A. I., *Contribution à l'étude de la procédure judiciaire dans l'Ancien Empire égyptien* (Cairo, 1950), pp. 15-22; Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, I 2, §§ 223, 242; II 1, p. 64; Kees, *Ägypten*, p. 219; *Pyr.* 1713 c; Cairo 65, 66, 181, 206; Mariette, *Mastabas*, B 16 (p. 109); Selim Hassan, *Excav. Giza V*, 237 f (L.D. II, 43 c-d); L.D. ii, 61, 63; Junker, *Giza VII*, 198; *Urk.* i, 158, 4; 196, 1; 202, 9; 174, 3; 197, 18; 202, 11; 294, 16; Petrie, *Denderah*, pl. VII A (I am indebted to Dr. Hans Goedicke for most of these Old Kingdom references); *Urk.* iv, 119 (= Paḥeri 27); Maspero, *Rec.* 36, 134-5; Spiegelberg, *Rec.* 28, 171. In *Egn. Gr.*, p. 603, Gardiner gives as the first meaning of *dḏst* "magistrates" and as the second meaning, "assessors." See also *ÄZ.* 73, 74.

175. Gabra, S., *Les Conseils de fonctionnaires dans l'Égypte pharaonique* (Cairo, 1929), pp. 2, 7-13, 33-36, 38; Spiegelberg, *Studien*, 63; Pirenne, *Histoire des institutions*, ii, 124 n. 1; iii, 273 ff., 279-80. See Junker, *Giza IV*, 38; Carnarvon Tablet I, Lines 2 and 5 (*JEA*. 3, 98, 102); Dav. *Rekh.* pl. 27, Lines 17-18; Gard. *Egn. Gr.*, Exercise XXX, iii, and sign-list, under W 23; *Sin.* B 209 (Gard. *Sin.* 80). Harari refers to "la commission administrative locale la *dḏst* de la pyramide *ḥwfw-ḥt*" (*Ann.* 51, 293. Further on this: Seidl, *Ägyptologische Forschungen*, Heft 10, p. 24). See also Edgerton, *JNES.* 6, 155 f. When functioning as a court the council in at least one instance (*JEA*. 34, pl. 8, iii, 11) was called a *dḏst sdmyw*.

appears to have been intrusted with the management of certain government lands and the people attached thereto and to have been assigned a Scribe of the Fields to assist it in this undertaking. We may suspect that in itself the word *dꜣdꜣt* signifies nothing more than a formal "assembly" of men (or gods), and in support of this may cite the several instances when it is obviously to be translated "personnel"¹⁷⁶ or "staff" (as of a temple).¹⁷⁷ More often than not the *dꜣdꜣt*-councils were local organizations with jurisdictions restricted to individual provinces, districts, or townships of Egypt.¹⁷⁸ In the XVIIIth Dynasty text setting forth the duties of the vizier we hear of a *dꜣdꜣt n tꜣmꜣ*, variously translated by Davies and Gardiner as "the council of sections" or "the officials of the cadaster";¹⁷⁹ and in the festival-hall of Osorkon II at Bubastis we encounter a row of officials labeled "the Council of the Great Prison" (*dꜣdꜣt nt ḥnrt wr*).¹⁸⁰ In our present texts three possibilities present themselves: a) The *dꜣdꜣt* referred to may have been the local administrative council of the neighborhood in which the fugitive and his family normally resided. In this case the members of the household of each offender would have been confined in their own home district or bound over to its local court; and their release would have been effected by this court upon receipt of a government directive channeled through the main Upper Egyptian prison and "criminal-courts building" at Thebes. b) The *dꜣdꜣt* in question may have been a superior council holding session at Thebes and administering the affairs of all Upper Egypt northward to Gereget (cf. "the 'controlling board' (*dꜣdꜣt*) of the Department (*wꜣrt*) of the South" addressed in *P. Kah.* 35, 41); or c) it may have been a council or court attached to the Great Prison and concerned only with matters which came under the jurisdiction of that institution. If either "b)" or "c)" was the case, then it is reasonable to assume that the families of the runaway labor-conscripts had been brought to Thebes and detained in the *ḥnrt wr* itself. One further consideration: If we assume that in these texts the *dꜣdꜣt* was either a court or an administrative body functioning as a court, we are faced with the disturbing picture of a court of justice having its actions prescribed for it by government directive.

The practice, exemplified here, of holding as "hostages" the family of a fugitive from the law may be compared with the custom prevalent in Ramesside times of imprisoning the "people" (*rmꜣt*) of deserters from the army,¹⁸¹ and with the even harsher provisions of the Nauri decree of King Sethy I, wherein the families of violators of the immunity of a royal temple foundation are condemned to permanent

176. Clère, *JEA.* 24, 126.

177. *P. Kah.* 26 a, 9 (pp. 64-5); Mariette, *Cat. . . d'Abydos*, 906; *Urk.* iv, 151 (?).

178. See *P. Kah.* 35, 41, and the references cited in footnotes 174 and 175, above.

179. *Dav. Rekh.* pl. 27, 17-18, p. 91; Gard. *Egn. Gr.* Exercise XXX, iii. On the *dꜣdꜣt nt mꜣr*, "Army Council," see Faulkner, *JEA.* 39, 42.

180. Naville, *Festival-Hall*, pl. 25, 6, p. 30.

181. *Pap. Lansing*, 10, 7 (*Bibl. Aeg.* vii, 109; *JEA.* 11, 293).

servitude for offenses which they themselves did not commit. In one instance in the Nauri decree the law is to be enforced against the violator by divers punishments including "putting his wife and children as serfs of the steward of this estate"; in another, by "dedicating his wife, his children, and all his property to the foundation."¹⁸² In our texts the seizure of a fugitive's family appears to have been employed chiefly, not as a form of punishment, but as security for his return and as an inducement for him to give himself up. This having proved to be ineffectual or no longer necessary, the women and children were in most cases released. Exceptions are found in Lines 57 and 58 d where, however, special circumstances seem to have prevailed.

The second provision of our standard directive, introduced by the resumptive sub-heading "being (an order) issued for the purpose of (*r*) . . .," amounts in each case to a pronouncement of sentence on the absentee labor-conscript. '*lrt hp r·f* (or *r·s*), "execute," "enforce," or "apply the law against him (or her)," is a stereotyped legal expression recurring again and again in royal edicts of the New Kingdom.¹⁸³ Griffith and Edgerton have taken the liberty of translating *lr·tw hpw r·f* "punishment shall be done to him";¹⁸⁴ and, though this is undoubtedly the ultimate sense of the expression, Gardiner feels, with considerable justification, that such a rendering is unnecessarily free.¹⁸⁵ In the edicts referred to the phrase is followed by specification of the punishments or penalties which are to be exacted, e.g., *Nauri*. 53: "the law shall be enforced against him by (*m*) beating him with one hundred blows." In our present directives we find cited the individual law or section of the law which covered the crime in question and which presumably specified the punishment to be meted out.

With Gardiner and others I had originally taken the words *n tšw*, *n wcrw* to mean "because of the one(s) who deserted," or "who fled." It was Posener who hit upon what, despite the disconcerting position of the phrase *r·f* (*r·s*), is undoubtedly the correct interpretation of these passages, and it was he who pointed out the important inferences to be drawn from them regarding the existence at this time of a systematic compilation, or code, of laws.

Though it involves repeating material already introduced at the beginning of this section it will be useful to make an informal tabulation of the titles of the laws referred to:

- (1) "The law pertaining to those who desert" (*hp* . . . *n tšw*: Line 10).

182. *Nauri*. 74. 78 (Griffith, *JEA*. 13, 203; Edgerton, *JNES*. 6, 224-5).

183. *Wb.* i, 109 (12); ii, 488 (24); *Haremhab*. 17. 22. 28 (See Pflüger, *JNES*. 5, 261 ff.; Spiegelberg, *Studien*, 68); *Nauri*. 46. 49. 53. etc.; Brunner, *Mitt. Kairo*. 8, 161-2.

184. Griffith, *JEA*. 13, 201 ff., Edgerton, *JNES*. 6, 223 ff.

185. *JEA*. 38, 30. Erman-Grapow translate the expression (*Wb.* i, 109) "Gesetze gegen jem. in Anwendung bringen"; Spiegelberg (*Studien*, 68), "an ihr werde das Gesetz vollstreckt"; and Brunner (*Loc. cit.*), "gegen ihn soll das Gesetz angewandt werden."

- (2) "The law pertaining to one who deliberately deserts for six months (or more)" (*hp . . . n tšw n wšwš r šbd 6*: Lines 55-6).
- (3) "The law pertaining to deliberate desertion of [one's?] labors" (*hp . . . n tšw[t] nt wšwš kš[t·f?]*: Vertical opp. Lines 59-70).
- (4) "The law pertaining to one who flees without performing his tasks" (*hp . . . n wšr nn šrt hnt·f*: Line 63).
- (5) "The law pertaining to one who flees the prison" (*hp . . . n wšrw hnrt*: Lines 1, 3, 14, 25-54), or " . . . the Great [Prison]" (*[hnrt] wr*: Line 15).

In these titles the short, connecting word before *tšw*, *wšrw*, here translated "pertaining to," is apparently the genitival adjective *n(y)*, literally "of," "belonging to," not, as was previously thought, the preposition *n*. An indication of this is what appears to be the feminine form of the adjective, *n(y)t*, preserved in the damaged lefthand column opposite Lines 64-70.

Tšw of Nos. (1) and (2) and *wšrw* of No. (5) are evidently perfective active participles of the verbs *tšš* and *wšr*, used perhaps as nouns to mean, respectively, "deserter"¹⁸⁶ and "fugitive." *Wšr* of No. (4) is either the same form with the *w*-ending, as frequently, omitted or possibly the rare noun *wšr* of *Wb.* i, 286 (21). The omission here of the regular leg-determinative, or -phonetic-determinative, (D 56) is probably a scribal oversight. In No. (3) the feminine form of the genitival adjective *n(y)t* indicates that the word preceding it was also feminine (corresponding to the English neuter), and in this case we read *tšw[t]*, "desertion," rather than *tšw*, "deserter" — a reading strengthened by the presence of the plural strokes so characteristic of expressions of this class (*Gard. Egn. Gr.* § 77).¹⁸⁷

Though *tšš* and *wšr* both embody a notion of "flight" the precise actions expressed by the two verbs are distinct, not only from one another, but from those described by the many other Egyptian words for "fleeing" (*šfd*, *wth*, *bhš*, *hmi*, *šhs*, etc.). The distinction is a nice one and constitutes both here and elsewhere an excellent example of the conciseness of the language.

In the numerous contexts in which it occurs *tšš* nearly always means "to desert," "to abandon," "to be missing" when duty, loyalty, or some other obligation demands one's presence. It is the word used of deserting the king,¹⁸⁸ especially on the field of battle,¹⁸⁹ of the *ka* deserting its owner¹⁹⁰ and of forbears deserting a descendant,¹⁹¹ of a soldier deserting from the army,¹⁹² of a person abandoning an action under-

186. Cf. *tšw* of *Wb.* v, 329 (14 = *Urk.* iv, 21, 14), here also probably meaning "deserter(s)."

187. Cf. *wšrt*, "flight": *Sin.* B. 156-7, 223, 277 (*Gard. Sin.*, pp. 58, 86, 107).

188. *Urk.* iv, 892 (*Gard. Egn. Gr.* § 402, ex.), 911.

189. Hayes, *Ann.* 33, 7-8, plate, Line 5; *Urk.* iv, 32, 38. (*Gard. Egn. Gr.* § 468, ex.).

190. *Gard. Egn. Gr.*, Exerc. XXXIII (b) 1.

191. Dedicatory stela from the chapel of Ramesses I at Abydos, Line 16 (Lefebvre, *Ann.* 51, 191-2).

192. Pap. Lansing, 10, 7 (*Bibl. Aeg.* vii, 109).

taken,¹⁹³ of security abandoning a country,¹⁹⁴ and of the assets of an estate going astray.¹⁹⁵ In Pap. Amherst, 28,¹⁹⁶ *tš* is used of thieves "escaping" before being brought to trial, but even in this instance there seems to be some idea of evading a responsibility. In the titles of the present laws in which the word *tšw* is employed there is certainly implicit in the word itself the concept of wilfully abandoning a legitimate obligation to the state — an obligation actually defined in No. (3) by the phrase *kj[t·f]*, "one's labors." Herein, doubtless, lay the real seriousness of the offense committed.

Wcr, on the other hand, seems to be used more often than not in the sense of "escaping," or "fleeing out" of some place, and especially of "fleeing (the country)," or "emigrating" through fear or some other compulsion. Sinuhe uses *wcr* and *wcrt* repeatedly to describe his panic-stricken flight out of Egypt into Syria;¹⁹⁷ and in Westc. X, 9-10. 17. and 24, *wcr* is interestingly used of a child at birth emerging (perhaps "escaping"?) from the body of its mother.¹⁹⁸ In a letter of the late Middle Kingdom from el Lahūn it is the word with which the flight of a runaway slave (*hm-nsw*) is described, a slave who was subsequently caught, like most of our absconding peasants, and turned over to the "prison of trial" (*hnrt n sdm*);¹⁹⁹ and in Pap. Bologna 1094 (3, 1-3) we hear of two "cultivators (*ihwtyw*) of the *minē*-land of Pharaoh" who "fled (*wcr*) before the face of" an officer in charge of them.²⁰⁰ While in our present texts the use of *wcr* may be meant to imply a flight beyond the boundaries of Egypt, there is nothing inherent in the verb itself which, as with *tš*, suggests the abandonment of an obligation. To express this notion there has had to be added after *wcr* in the title of law No. (4) (Line 63 d) the phrase "without performing his tasks" (*nn irt hnt·f*). Another characteristic of *wcr*, which emerges from title No. (5), is that, like our verb "flee," it can apparently be used transitively, without a preposition, to mean "run away from," "escape from" such-and-such a place.

Titles Nos. (2) and (3) would seem to cover a more serious offense than No. (1). In them it is a question, not simply of running away from one's obligations, but of carrying out a premeditated desertion, planned and arranged for in advance of the act itself. A comparison with our "murder in the second degree" and "murder in the first degree" inevitably suggests itself; and we may suppose that, as with these crimes, the punishment for a deliberate desertion was much more severe than for one committed, without premeditation, on the spur of the moment (cf. *Sin.* B 223 ff.; Gard.

193. *Sebekkhu*. 4 (Gard. *Egn. Gr.* § 307, 1st ex.).

194. *Peas.* 179 (Vog. *Bauer.* 145-6).

195. *Leyd.* ii, 10 (V.88). See also *Urk.* iv, 98, 9.

196. *Peet, Great Tomb Robberies*, 49, pl. 5 (4, 2).

197. *Sin.* B. 149, 151, 156-7, 205, 223, 277 (Gard. *Sin.* pp. 55, 58, 78-9, 86, 107; Vog. *Bauer.* 230).

198. See Erman, *Die Märchen . . .*, vol. ii, p. 6; Erman-Blackman, *Literature*, p. 45.

199. *P. Kah.* 34, 19-21, pp. 79, 86; Gard. *Egn. Gr.* § 326, 4th ex.

200. Gardiner, *Late-Eg. Misc. (Bibl. Aeg. vii)*, p. 3; Wilb. *Comm.*, pp. 78-9, 165.

Sin. 85-6). The charge of premeditation would presumably have rested on evidence that guards had been bribed, transportation arranged for,²⁰¹ or the like; and would not in most cases have been difficult to substantiate.

In the expressions *tšw n(y) wšwš* and *tšw[t] n(y)t wšwš* — literally, “a deserter (desertion) of being planned” — *wšwš* is assumed to be the infinitive of the verb, used, with passive meaning, after the genitival adjective (*Gard. Egn. Gr.* § 305). Beside its general meaning of “plan,” “ponder,” “deliberate,” “devise (plans),” “take (counsel),”²⁰² *wšwš* is frequently employed to describe the hatching of evil plans, or “plots,”²⁰³ and that is certainly its force in the present instances. In the lefthand vertical of Lines 59-70 *d* the determinative of the verb has been omitted — probably through carelessness; but in Line 55-6 *d* (Plate VI) the remaining trace after *wšwš* can very well be the bottom of the abbreviated hieratic form of the seated man-with-hand-to-mouth (A 2. See Möll. *Pal.* i, No. 35).

In Title No. (2) (Line 55-6 *d*) the phrase . . . *r šbd* 6, “. . . for 6 months,” indicates that the duration of the desertion was also a factor in assessing the seriousness of the offense. Presumably the fugitive whose unauthorized absence exceeded half a year belonged to a higher criminal category and was liable to a more severe punishment than one who gave himself up before the six-month deadline had been passed. We are reminded of the time element which in our military law is the chief factor in determining whether a man is to be regarded as a deserter from the armed forces or merely as “absent without leave.”

Though Nos. (3) and (4) may be little more than expanded wordings of the other titles they alone constitute a clue to the exact status of the people named in the preceding lists — i.e., runaway labor-conscripts. *Kš[t]*, the common general word for “work,” “labor,” occurring in No. (3) is the expression used in Spell VI of the Book of the Dead (“the Chapter of the *shawabty*”) to describe the labors for which, in the corvées of the Hereafter, the deceased Egyptian might expect to be “registered,” or “counted.” *Hnt* of No. (4) usually has the meaning of “tasks” or “occupations.” In the present context it is perhaps better rendered as “service,” a meaning which it seems to have in other texts wherein, as here, it is used in conjunction with the verb *šrš*, “do,” “perform” (*Wb.* iii, 102, 8). Though there may be in the expression *šrt hnt* an implication of “doing one’s duty,” the English word “duty,” as Gardiner has pointed out to me, is not an acceptable translation of the noun *hnt* itself. The word is used in a manner very similar to that of our “*d*” entry in a damaged passage in *P. Kah.* 22, 3-4, which Griffith (p. 56) has read “when the had departed(?) and placed ? themselves ? in their villages without coming to do their tasks” (. . . *nn šwt r šrt hn[t·sn]* . . .). *Wb.* iii, 102 (11), lists several instances in which *hnt*

201. As apparently had been done by the uncaptured fugitive of Line 58. On this see below.

202. *Wb.* i, 249 (6-11) — “belegt seit *D.* 18.”

203. *Ibid.* (12-13); see especially *P. jur. Tur.* 4, 6 (de Buck, *JEA.* 23, 154). See also *wš*, *Wb.* i, 244.

refers specifically to agricultural activities. Among these is an XVIIIth Dynasty tomb inscription describing a scene of farmhands at work as "all the occupations (*hnt*) which are performed in the pastures . . . and in the fields of the southern region" (*Urk.* iv, 124). Law No. (4) may, of course, have been directed not against those who abandoned tasks already entered upon, but against those who ran away to avoid being taken for the work gangs and who therefore escaped performing any labor whatsoever. The expression . . . *nn lrt hnt·f* seems quite susceptible of either interpretation.

Still another set of circumstances seems to have been covered by our fifth title (Lines 1, 3, 14, 15, 25-54 d). Here the specific offense involved was not that of evading the labor-draft nor of running away while at work in the open fields, but of escaping from one of the prison-compounds (*hnrt*) in which people impressed for corvée appear to have been quartered either when not working or when engaged in work which could be performed within such enclosures. Again, however, the question arises whether, in spite of variations in detail, we have not to do here with the same basic offense or category of offense referred to in the four other titles.

In other words, are we dealing in these texts with: (a) the titles of five different criminal laws — five distinct sections of a criminal code; (b) the titles of five subsections or sub-paragraphs of a single law; or (c) the title of a single law cited in a variety of ways by five or more different magistrates or scribes? Though the first possibility (a) seems to me the most likely, I should prefer to leave the final decision up to those whose legal background and specialized knowledge of ancient law has equipped them to cope with problems of this type.

Regardless of what that decision may be, the fact remains that we have here the citation by title of one or more specific laws, extracted presumably from a systematic body of written laws, or what is normally called a code. The existence of a pharaonic law code, though often assumed by writers on Egyptian law, rests on extremely little and somewhat doubtful evidence. From late times we have the statement of Hecataeus (cited by Diodorus, I, 75) that during an Egyptian trial the judges kept beside them the whole law written up in eight books; and from the XVIIIth Dynasty, the famous scene in the Hall of the Vizier with forty leather objects (*šsm*), often presumed to be the rolls of the law, laid out on mats or in chests immediately in front of the vizier himself.²⁰⁴ A quotation from a specific law occurs in a papyrus of the XXth Dynasty in Turin.²⁰⁵ It is the opinion of Ibrahim Harari that the common phrase *r hp*, "in accordance with the law," occurring in the Tale of the Eloquent

204. *Dav. Rekh.* pls. 25-6, see pp. 31-2; Edgerton, *JNES.* 6, 154 n. 5; Spiegelberg, *Studien*, 8-9; Seidl, *Einführung in die ägyptische Rechtsgeschichte* (*Ägyptologische Forschungen*, Heft 10), 19.

205. Pap. Turin 2021, 3, 4 (Černý and Peet, *JEA.* 13, 32, pl. 14). See Edgerton, *Loc. cit.*, n. 6; Seidl, *Einführung*, 20.

Peasant (and elsewhere) "indique précisément un corps de lois, qui représentent le système créé depuis fut organisée l'Égypte dynastique."²⁰⁶ A reference to written laws seems to occur in the edict of King Haremhab (v. 4) in a passage which Pflüger (*JNES*. 6, 265) has rendered "I have given them precept(s) (and recorded) laws (*hp*) in [their] journal (*hrwyt*)."²⁰⁷ Collections of laws associated with particular parts of the country, specific classes of people, and individual government buildings are also known. *P. Kah.* 22, 2-3, refers to "the law of Upper Egypt" (*hp šmꜥw*); another Middle Kingdom papyrus from el Lahūn (Berlin P. 10001 *recto*), to "the laws of the *hnty(w)-š*";²⁰⁷ and *Haremhab*, v. 4, to "the laws of the throne-hall (*ꜥꜣꜣt*)."²⁰⁷ We hear also in *Adm.* 6, 9-10, of a group of ordinances called "the laws of the prison (*hpw nyw hnrt*)," in which we may perhaps recognize Egypt's criminal code and to which the laws cited in our present texts probably belonged.

Since in ancient Egypt willful evasion of the labor requirements imposed by the pharaonic government on its subjects would presumably have been regarded as a crime against the king and the state and since offenses of this type were evidently handled by an institution (the *hnrt*) specializing in criminal cases it has been assumed in the foregoing pages that the laws invoked in connection with these offenses were criminal laws. We should not, however, overlook the, to my mind, less likely possibility that they were not so regarded, but fell under the heading of "laws of obligation" and more specifically under the so-called labor-laws of Egypt. It is under the latter heading, in any case, that Seidl in his *Einführung* (p. 53) discusses the institution of corvée, or statute labor, and the various edicts and charters issued concerning it.

Having dealt — at perhaps excessive length — with the directives which conform more or less strictly to the prevailing formula, we turn now to the two rather notable exceptions to this formula found in Lines 57 and 58 d (Plate VI). Both of these interesting texts present problems in grammatical construction and in the restoration of their destroyed portions; and both are certainly susceptible of interpretations other than those offered herewith.

For Line 57 d the following reading is suggested:

"(An order) was issued to the Great Prison (in) Regnal Year 31, Month 3 of Shōmu, Day 5, for (his) being given to the ploughlands together with his people forever [in accordance with (?)] the dictum of the court."

In the expression *r rdlt n . . .* I take *rdlt* to be, as usual in these directives, the infinitive after the preposition *r*, used either with impersonal passive meaning with the semantic subject left unexpressed ("in order that (one) be given") or with active meaning with the pronominal object (*·f*) simply omitted ("in order to give [him]")

206. *Contribution*, 42.

207. Möll. *Pal.* i, pp. 6 and 14.

(cf. Gard. *Egn. Gr.* §§ 298, 300, 486). The suffix $\cdot f$ in $hr\cdot f$, "his people," (and hence the unexpressed subject or omitted pronominal object of $rd\dot{t}$) clearly refers back to Sabes's son, Montuhotpe, the fugitive named in the preceding "a" entry of Line 57. Before the preposition n it seems preferable to translate $rd\dot{t}$ as "give (to)" rather than as "put (to)," the latter expression being normally rendered in Egyptian by $rd\dot{t} r \dots$. For the phrase $[mi] \dot{d}d \dot{d}i\dot{d}t$, literally "according as the court says," cf. Gard. *Egn. Gr.* § 170, 5 (b). On $hbsw$ as public farmlands owned and operated by the state see above under "The 'b' Entries."

The chief interest of this text (assuming that it is correctly understood) is that it specifies the punishment meted out to a runaway labor-conscript — namely, a lifetime of hard labor on the government farms. Though harsh, the punishment was singularly appropriate to the offense committed — permanent labor for evasion of temporary labor; and we shall probably not be wrong in assuming that the same or a similar penalty was imposed upon all of our fugitives. When not actually at work on the $hbsw$ -lands it is likely that such lifelong prisoners of the state were confined, like ordinary statute-laborers, in the labor-camps attached to the $hnrt wr$ and Egypt's other prisons and were entrusted to the guardianship of the staffs of these institutions. In Montuhotpe's case, as already noted, the punishment was unusually severe, involving not only the man himself but also his family who, as we know from our other directives, were normally released once the principal offender had been convicted of his crime.

Another point of interest which seems to emerge from the wording of Line 57 d is that the sentence, though imposed upon the fugitive — probably in his absence — by the local or sectional court ($\dot{d}i\dot{d}t$) which determined his guilt, had to be confirmed, before being executed, by an order of the central government. A similar procedure appears to have been followed in the criminal trials known to us from documents of the New Kingdom, but to have been confined at that period to cases of sufficient moment to attract the pharaoh's personal attention and to sentences in which the penalty of death was involved.²⁰⁸

The sense of the directive of Line 58 d is more readily grasped if it is noted in advance that in this case the fugitive, Sobkkhu's son, Dedusobk, appears from the absence of an "f" or "g" entry opposite his name never to have been brought to justice,²⁰⁹ and that the penalty cited here is not invoked against him, but against a ship's captain who must almost certainly have aided him to escape.

With this in mind we may perhaps read:

"(An order) was issued to the Great Prison (in) Regnal Year 31, Month 3 of

208. See Peet, *The Great Tomb-robberies*, 26-7. No mention of royal confirmation of the death sentences occurs in the Judicial Papyrus of Turin (de Buck, *JEA.* 23, 152-64).

209. See below. The red "e" entry, "being brought," seems to have been either perfunctory or premature.

Shōmu, Day 9, to say: 'Handed over to the Office of the Provider-of-People is the fami[ly of] the one who was [ba]nished because of complicity(?) in his plot(?), the one removed from (the office of) Skipper of the Treasury and deprived of his name of "Deduamūn's son, Montuhotpe." ' "

Several points of interest and uncertainty invite discussion.

The insertion before the body of this text of the introductory phrase *r dd* makes what is grammatically at least a statement of fact conform to the pattern of the other directives, all of which, as we have seen, adhere to the same *r*-plus-infinitive construction after the verb *iw*. To preserve the uniformity so achieved *r dd*, usually translated "saying . . ." or simply "that . . .," is here rendered literally, "in order to say . . ." ²¹⁰

The expression *dī(w) r*, in which *dī(w)* is clearly the passive *sḏm·f*, occurs frequently in Papyrus Bulak 18 where it is used at the beginning of statements recording revenues received.²¹¹ Gardiner (*Egn. Gr.* p. 202) translates it "was given into . . ." and Griffith (*ÄZ.* 29, 108), "sent to . . ." and "given for . . ." (*Ibid.* 109). In our text where the action referred to was apparently concomitant with the statement describing it the English present — "is given into," "is handed over to" — seems the preferable rendering. After *dīw r* the sentence order seen here, with one or more adverbial phrases separating the verb from its subject,²¹² is normal. The passage selected by Gardiner as Exercise XX of his *Egn. Gr.* contains a good example (*P. Boul.* xviii. 41 [not 31]: *dīw r stp-s(i) m k n wdpw n hnt t šbn 625 hnkt ds 45*, "was given into the palace at the entry of the butler of the harīm various kinds of bread, 625 loaves, beer, 45 *des*-jugs."

The bureau called the *hī n dd-rmt* is mentioned with some frequency in documents of the late Middle Kingdom. From Papyrus Bulak 18 ²¹³ we know that it was classed, with the Treasury (*pr-hd*) and the *wrt* of the Head of the South (*tp rsy*), as a "department (*wrt*)" of the central government (see also Cairo J. 51911, Line 14).²¹⁴ From a number of sources we know, too, that the second element in the title of the bureau is indeed the word *rmt*, "people."²¹⁵ On the other hand, the form and syntax of the first element, *dd*-(?), the meaning of the title as a whole, and the function of the institution referred to are matters of considerable uncertainty. Since in Papyrus Bulak 18 and Cairo J.51911 the institution is mentioned as a source of food supplies and other commodities it has been assumed that it was chiefly concerned with the handling of goods received as taxes from the people and that its title should therefore

210. See Gard. *Egn. Gr.* § 224; and below, *recto*, Insertions B (8) and C (5), and *verso*, Text B (24).

211. *P. Boul.* xviii, 12. 21. 25. 30. 41. 49. etc.

212. Cf. Gard. *Egn. Gr.* § 507, 2.

213. *P. Boul.* xviii, 45; see also 47 and 2.

214. Kees, *ÄZ.* 70, 87; Drioton-Vandier, *L'Égypte* (3rd ed.), 306-7.

215. *Wb.* ii, 464 (11); iii, 222 (3); Cairo 20577; *P. Kah.* 18, 48; Baillet, *Rec.* 28, 123.

be read *ḥꜥ n dd(t)-rmt*, "the Office of That-which-the-People-Give."²¹⁶ Unfortunately for this interpretation the writing *ddt-*, with the feminine (or neuter) *t*-ending, is not once found among the dozen or so examples of the title now known. Furthermore, the reception and disbursement of tax-goods were functions normally performed by the Treasury (*pr-ḥꜥ*), from which, as we have just seen, the *ḥꜥ n dd-rmt* was clearly differentiated. Finally, the majority of the texts in which the latter office is named tend to show that it dealt, not in donations of "people," but in "people" themselves. Here, for example, in Line 58 d of our papyrus, the members of the family of the Skipper Montuhotpe are turned over *to* the *ḥꜥ n dd-rmt*; and below, in Line 8 of Insertion C, a similar group of people are to be obtained *from* (*m*) the same office. *P. Kah.* 13, 9 ff., a document recording the donation to two officials of four female Asiatics, was drawn up by a scribe of the *ḥꜥ n dd-rmt*; and in Cairo J.51911, Line 17,²¹⁷ we hear of five persons "from (*ḥr*) the *ḥꜥ n dd-rmt* of the Southern City" being assigned to some work connected with the temple of Amūn at Karnak. Evidently, then, we must concur with Griffith (*P. Kah.* p. 35), with Baillet (*Rec.* 28, 123), and with Erman-Grapow (*Wb.* ii, 464, 11; iii, 222, 3) in identifying this institution, not as a tax-office, but as a labor bureau, charged presumably with the registration and assignment of statute-laborers, foreign slaves, and other types of government-controlled working people. It is difficult to understand, however, what part of the verb *di*, "give," Griffith had in mind when he translated the title "the office of *providing*"²¹⁸ labourers." Without changing the basic significance of the expression we shall be grammatically on firmer ground if we render the title "the office of He-who-provides-people" (or, if you will, "laborers"), taking *dd-* to be simply the normal writing of the imperfective active participle (masculine singular) (Gard. *Egn. Gr.* § 357, end). Moreover, after *ḥꜥ n . . .* it is more usual to find, not the designation of an activity, but the title of the official in charge of the bureau in question: e.g., "the Office of the Vizier" (*ḥꜥ n tꜣt(y)*), "the Office of the Reporter . . ." (*ḥꜥ n whmw . . .*). The fact that the title *dd-rmt* appears not to be known (or not to have been recognized) except in the name of the office does not, it seems to me, constitute an insurmountable obstacle to the reading proposed. Of the rest of the staff of the institution we know only of a Scribe in charge of the Seal (*sꜣ ḥr ḥtm*) of the *ḥꜥ n dd-rmt* (*P. Kah.* 13, 11) and of two men who bore the title *imy-sꜣ*, "attendant" (or "guard"?) of the *ḥꜥ dd-rmt*.²¹⁹ The already cited passage from Cairo J.51911 (17) tells us that there was a branch of the "Office of the Provider-of-People" at Thebes; and it is perhaps to this branch office that the entries in Papyrus Bulak 18 refer.

216. Scharff, *ÄZ.* 57, 53 ("Büro dessen, was die Leute geben(?)"); Kees, *ÄZ.* 70, 87 ff.; Drioton-Vandier, *L'Égypte*, 305 ("le bureau de ce que donnent les hommes"); etc.

217. Annotated hand-copy by Prof. J. J. Clère.

218. This would normally be rendered in Egyptian by the infinitive, *rdlt* (Gard. *Egn. Gr.* §§ 298; 299, end).

219. *P. Kah.* 18, 48; Cairo 20577.

From what we have learned of the activities of Egypt's labor bureau (*hꜛ n dd-rmt*) and her prisons system (*hnrt*, *hnrt wr*) it is evident that the closest associations must have existed between the two institutions. The *dd-rmt*, as already said, appears to have handled the registration, assignment, and other clerical work connected with the various classes of public laborers, including those condemned to enforced labor because of offenses which they or their close relatives had committed; the *hnrt* (aside from its function as a prison in the narrower sense) to have been concerned with the housing, guarding, and disciplining of the same general categories of people. Our present text apparently directs that persons held as security in the Great Prison are to be turned over by it to the Labor Bureau for registration and assignment as permanent workers in the service of the state.

An altogether natural, though secondary, function of the *hꜛ n dd-rmt* was evidently to administer and disburse the food supplies and other commodities produced by the workers under its jurisdiction. Obviously these supplies are not to be classed as taxes any more than are the products of the inmates of our modern prisons. This explains, however, why the Labor Bureau is named in *P. Boul.* xviii (2. 45. 47) as a source of cereal grains, fruits, vegetables, bread, and beer, and in Cairo J.51911 (14) as the contributor of an ox.

The restoration after *hꜛ n dd-rmt* of the word *mh(w)t*, "family," seems reasonably certain: the *m* and *h* are almost completely preserved, the tail of the hieratic *t* is visible to the left of the *h*, and the lacuna to the left of this is of proper size for the man and woman over plural strokes and the initial *s* of the following word, [*s*]*hr* (Plate VI). Clère (*JEA.* 35, 39 n. 5) has pointed out that, though *Wb.* (ii, 114, 7) has changed its original notation on *mhwt* ("belegt seit *MR*") to "Erst seit D. 18 belegt," the word is actually found, written *mht* as here, on two stelae of the Second Intermediate Period [Dyn. XIII]²²⁰ from Tell Edfu. On one of these it is used, as in our texts, in parallelism with *hr*, "people," on the other in parallelism with *snw*, "brothers."²²¹ The writing with *w*, *mhwt*, appears not to be known before the XVIIIth Dynasty. A fairly common general expression for "family," "relatives," *mhwt* not infrequently appears to be used in a hostile or derogatory fashion to refer to the families of unfriendly, evil, or inferior persons (*Wb.* ii, 114, 8 ff.). Some such force may be inherent in the word in its present context where it is a question of the kin of an exiled wrongdoer.

The restoration of [*s*]*hr* and the clever suggestion that it embodies the idea of "one banished," "one punished," I owe to Prof. Richard Parker. The word would appear to be the perfective passive participle of the verb *shri*, "remove," "drive away" (*Wb.* iv, 219-20)²²² used as a noun in direct genitival construction after

220. Hayes, *JEA.* 33, 9-10.

221. Engelbach, *Ann.* 23, 183-4; Alliot, *Tell Edfou* (1933), 31, pl. 15, 1; and Engelbach, *Ann.* 21, 66; 22, plate, 2.

mh(w)t. On banishment as a form of punishment in ancient Egypt see Spiegelberg, *Studien und Materialien*, pp. 69-71.

After [s]*hr* it is not unnatural to expect the reason for the removal, or banishment, to be given; and the phrases *hr dmd m r·f* seem to supply this reason. *Dmd*²²² I take to be a noun, or nominal form, after the preposition *hr*: literally, "because of a uniting with . . .". The translation "complicity in . . ." was suggested by the use in Sethe's *Ächtungstexte* (41) of *dmd* (determined by the seated man, A 1) with the evident meaning of "associate," "accomplice,"²²⁴ and by the analogous derivation of the word *smj(y)*, "confederate," from the verb *smj*, "unite," "(be) united."²²⁵ *R*, literally "mouth," is almost what Gardiner has described as a "blank-cheque word."²²⁶ Since among its great variety of meanings is that of "counsel,"²²⁷ it seems quite possible that here it has the force of "plan," or "plot" — referring of course to the fugitive Dedusobk's plot to escape, a plot in which the boat skipper Montuhotpe had been an important participant.

In his study of the Execration Texts (*Ächtungstexte*) Prof. Georges Posener has come to the conclusion that in the expressions *wj r* (title) . . ., *wj n rn·f n* (name) the verb *wj* has its common meaning of "be far (from)," "be separated (from)" (*Wb.* i, 245). He has pointed out to me especially the formulae on a series of small mud tablets from Lisht²²⁸ which read: *mt wj n rn·f r N.* or (fem.) *mtt wj n rn·s r N.*, "the deceased whose name is separated from N.," and, in one instance, *mt wj r lmy-r sdwtyw(?)*, "the deceased who is separated from (the office of) Overseer of Treasurers." The complete evidence and full argument for the new readings of these expressions will be presented elsewhere by Posener himself, and his thesis need not and should not be anticipated here except in so far as it is necessary to explain the translations given above for our particular text. It may be noted, however, that, while the phrase *wj r* (title) . . . appears to be known only from our text and the Lisht tablets, the expression *wj n rn·f* . . ., occurring in the Koptos decree of King Nubkheperre Intef of Dyn. XVII, has been in the past the subject of considerable discussion.²²⁹ These phrases, by which the wrongdoer is deprived, respectively, of

222. Note especially the striking-man determinative (A 24) found elsewhere in Middle Kingdom writings of this verb.

223. A small portion of the sign which I have transcribed by the papyrus-roll (Y 1) can be made out at the edge of the lacuna in Plate VI, just below and to the left of the *dmd*-sign.

224. This meaning and the pertinent reference were pointed out to me by Prof. Posener.

225. *Wb.* iii, 446-7 and 449-50. See *Sin.* B 114; Gard. *Sin.* pp. 142, 171.

226. See *Wb.* ii, 389 ff.

227. *Sin.* B 217; Gard. *Sin.*, pp. 83-4.

228. Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York), accession nos. 33.1.67-147; Lansing, *Bull. MMA.* Nov. 1933, sect. ii, 23-4, fig. 32.

229. *Kopt.* pl. viii, 5; Gard. *Egn. Gr.*, § 506, 2; *Adm.* p. 53; Vog. *Bauer.* p. 110. Cf. *Sin.* B 74 (Gard. *Sin.* pp. 39, 139, 170); *Adm.* 4, 7 (p. 71); *Urk.* iv, 257, 15-6; Sethe, *Erläuterungen*, 166; Posener, *Rev.d'Ég.* 5, 54.

his rank, or employment, and of his identity, still retain the nature of curses, though in our present directive they were perhaps thought of as pronouncements of actual punishments (cf. Posener, *Rev. d'Eg.* 5, 51-6).

Occasionally, as here in the case of the title *nfw n pr-ḥd*, we find titles used "to express the position or functions that they involve" (e.g., *ḥt(y)*, "the office of Vizier").²³⁰ On the title *nfw* itself, "ship's captain," "skipper," "*rēis*," see especially Säve-Söderbergh, *The Navy of the Eighteenth Egyptian Dynasty*, pp. 85-87.²³¹ I know of no other examples of a *nfw n pr-ḥd* unless the title cited by Gardiner (*JEA.* 24, 160) as *nfw n pr-ḥn* is in reality so to be read.²³² As skipper of a river-craft carrying produce from the state farmlands (*ḥbsw*) to the Treasury Montuhotpe would certainly have come into contact with the statute-laborers attached to these lands and could have been bribed or persuaded by one of them to assist him to escape.

Montuhotpe's own name and that of his father, Deduamūn (*Ddw-'Imn*), suggest strongly that our obliging skipper was a Theban. Whether he was caught and subsequently banished or simply accompanied his passenger into voluntary exile beyond the boundaries of Egypt is a matter for speculation. In either case he was punished for his part in the business by being deprived of his rank and identity and by having his family turned over as government laborers to the jurisdiction of the Provider-of-People.

Two other deviations from the standard formula appear to have existed in Line 37 d (Plate IV) and in the pair of vertical columns opposite Lines 71-80 (Plate VI). In the first instance all that remains are a few damaged groups near the end of the directive which may be restored to read: ". . . . the [peop]le concerning whom one has come to the [Southern ?] Ci[ty]." In the second case parts of half a dozen hieratic signs suffice to show only that there was a text here, composed in one and two-thirds columns, and that its contents differed from that of the standard directive. In the left-hand column we may have preserved the words ". . . . [the ci]ty of Eleph[antine ?]"; but the remnants of the righthand column are too scanty to justify an attempt at transcription.

5. THE "e" ENTRIES

The black check-marks to the left of the "d" entries were added by the scribe who drew up these entries, primarily, it would seem, as a means of re-establishing the number and spacing of the lines (Plates II, IV, VII). These marks, elsewhere some-

230. Gard. *Sin.* p. 89 (*Sin.* B 235) and also p. 64 n. 2; Gard. *Egn. Gr.* §§ 149, 323 1st ex., Exerc. XXVIII n. 5; Sethe, *Unt.* v 2, pp. 6, 39; Dav. *Rekh.* 86, pl. cxvi, 2 (*Urk.* iv, 1087); P. Kah. 11, 18 (p. 29).

231. See also *Wb.* ii, 251 (1-7); Budge, *Dictionary*, 370 A; Gard. *Egn. Gr.*, pp. 106, 574; sign-list, P 5; Lange-Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine*, iii, p. 59.

times transcribed by dots or little circles,²³² resemble in their form a number of the smaller hieratic characters, notably the *t*-sign (Möll. *Pal.* i, No. 575), but apparently have no hieroglyphic counterpart nor any translatable meaning of their own. In accounts and lists they are frequently used, like our ditto-marks, to indicate the repetition of an entry written out in a preceding line.²³⁴ In our present list they are quite distinct in their form from the diagonal blobs which in the "c" columns stand for the "seated-man" (A 1).

The red entries in the "e" columns, written close beside and occasionally partially overlapping the check-marks, are obviously later additions.²³⁵ Each of these consists of the hieratic version of one of three hieroglyphic signs: the column (O 29: Lines 4-8 and *passim*), the pot-on-legs (W 25: Lines 1-3 and *passim*), and apparently the reed-leaf (M 17: Lines 64-7, 73-8). Assuming, as seems likely, that these signs are abbreviated writings of common Egyptian words²³⁶ and that they are notations having to do with the capture and prosecution of the fugitives referred to in the preceding entries, it is not difficult to surmise what words are intended. The "column"-sign, ⲓ, must almost certainly stand for the adverb ⲓ, "here," "present,"²³⁷ and mean that the fugitive in question has been caught and returned to the *hnrt wr* at Thebes; and the "pot-on-legs" for some passive form (infinitive or participle) of the verb *ini*, "bring," and mean that the fugitive has been reportedly²³⁸ captured and is "being brought" to Thebes. The vertical sign which is confined to the last seventeen entries (Lines 64 e, ff.) and which I have transcribed somewhat doubtfully as the reed-leaf (M 17) may perhaps stand for a form of one of the two verbs to "come," *ii* or *iw*,²³⁹ and be understood to mean "coming." Does this entry indicate a voluntary return, "under their own power," of the fugitives in question, as opposed to the enforced return, under arrest, implied by the notation "being brought?"

232. Leyd. (*Denkm.* ii, pl. 36, No. 49). The pertinent group is indistinct and could conceivably be read *pr-hd* rather than *pr-enh*.

233. See Scharff, *ÄZ.* 57, text sheets to pp. 51 ff.; and the references cited in the next footnote.

234. *P. Boul.* xviii, *passim*; *P. Kah.* 10. 14-26 *passim*; *AEO.* pl. II; Hayes, *Ostraka*, p. 23 n. 127.

235. See above, Chapter I, 2.

236. On abbreviations and symbols used in this general way see *P. Kah.* 14, 25 ff., p. 41; *AEO.* i, pp. 11-12, 22-23; and our own "g" entries.

237. Gard. *Egn. Gr.* § 205, 1, and the references cited there. The word written with the column-sign and determinative (N 31) alone is not uncommon. (*Wb.* i, 164, 7-9).

238. In the case of the fugitive of Line 58 the notation "being brought" appears, as we have seen, to have been unfounded.

239. The verb *iw* is occasionally written with the reed-leaf as its initial sign (see *Wb.* i, 44, top, and Gard. *Egn. Gr.* § 461: Old Kingdom; *Urk.* iv, 259, 12: New Kingdom; and below, Insertion C, Lines 7 and 8: late Middle Kingdom). Conceivably our sign is a simplified hieratic form of the reed-leaf-on-legs (M 18; cf. Möll. *Pal.* i, No. 284, under "Bulaq 18"), in which case the verb in question is *ii* (*Wb.* i, 37).

6. THE "f" ENTRIES

These notations, added in red ink to the left of the "e" entries (Plates II, IV-V, VII), are endorsements by scribes of the vizier to the effect that the actions ordered in connection with the fugitives have been carried out and that the cases against them are now closed.

The formula employed in every instance reads "Statement by the Scribe of the Vizier, N.: 'It is completed.'"

The expression *ḏd·n* . . . I take to be a variant of the familiar formula *ḏdt·n* . . . , literally "what . . . said," frequently used to introduce formal statements such as affidavits, depositions in court, and the like.²⁴⁰ The same writing (with the feminine *t*-ending of the relative form omitted) is found in the text of Cairo J.52453 (Line 12)²⁴¹ and in a Ramesside papyrus published some years ago by Černý.²⁴² In *Unt.* iv 3, p. 24, Gardiner cites a judiciary papyrus from Gurob in which (Line 3) the deposition of a man named *Msw-s3-ḏ3* is headed by the words *ḏd·n·f pw* . . . , "' . . . ' is what he said."²⁴³

For the statement itself — "It is completed," "It is concluded" — most of our scribes use what appears to be the *ḏw sdm·f* construction,²⁴⁴ forming an impersonal passive by means of the indefinite pronoun *·tw* (*ḏw kn·tw*) (Gard. *Egn. Gr.* § 39); while the scribe Amenysonbe of Lines 64 ff. seems to prefer, after *ḏw*, the passive *sdm·f* (*kn*), again used impersonally without an expressed subject.²⁴⁵ The verb *kn* and its derivatives are regularly employed in administrative and judiciary texts to describe the reaching of decisions and the conclusions of cases at law. An example is found in Ptahhotpe's classic bit of advice regarding the petitioner who "had rather that his words should be attended to than that (the thing) for which he came should be accomplished (*knt*)."²⁴⁶ Posener cites two passages from Papyrus Chassinat I (Lines *x* + 2, *x* + 10), a court record of the late period, wherein litigants depart "without hearing the conclusion (*knw*)" concerning them. A similar use of the word occurs in P. Berlin 10470 (I, 5.12) where pronouncements of legal decisions are in-

240. Peet, *JEA.* 12, 73; Glanville, *JEA.* 14, 309 f.; Černý, *JEA.* 15, 246; Blackman, *JEA.* 19, 201; Gardiner, *JEA.* 21, 141; *Unt.* iv 3, 4-5, 12 n. 2; Erman, *Neuaegyptische Grammatik*, § 398 (p. 191); etc.

241. Lacau (*Stèle juridique*, p. 22) gives the unlikely translation "Dicté (?) au (?) . . . scribe . . ."

242. *JEA.* 31, 40, pl. 12, Line 1. See also Hayes, *Glazed Tiles* (MMA. Papers, No. 3), p. 19.

243. Cf. *ḏdt·n·f pw* . . . , "' . . . ' is what he said" (Berlin P.10050, verso, 3; Scharff, *AZ.* 59, 48); *ḏdt·n·sn pw* . . . , "' . . . ' is what they said" P. Kah., 2nd find: Borchardt, *AZ.* 37, 97).

244. A puzzling use of this verb-form which normally "is imperfective in meaning, i.e. has implications of repetition or continuity" (Gard. *Egn. Gr.* § 642).

245. Gard. *Egn. Gr.* § 465; see also, however, §§ 466 and 467. It should be noted that the verb *kn* can in itself mean either "complete" (transitive) or "(be) complete" (*Wb.* v, 49).

246. *Pt.* 264 ff.; Gard. *Egn. Gr.* p. 323.

troduced by the words *kn m dd . . .*, "the conclusion is . . ." (Smither, *JEA*. 34, 32).

In the title *sš n tity*, "Scribe of the Vizier," considerable doubt would exist concerning the reading of the word *tity*, "Vizier," were it not for the fact that the almost illegible red entry of Lines 46-54 has been re-written in black ink in a fairly clear late Middle Kingdom hand (Plate IV). Everywhere else in these entries, including the red entry of Lines 46-54 itself, the duckling-sign (G 47) of *tity* is followed by a ligature which cannot possibly be *t*-over-vertical-stroke (Möll. *Pal.* i, No. LIII), but is probably to be read as *t*-over-seated-man (X 1 over A 1).²⁴⁷ This unusual writing of *tity* occurs also in the smaller manuscript of Papyrus Bulak 18,²⁴⁸ but not, so far as I can discover, elsewhere, though the title written in the normal fashion with the *t*-over-stroke is occasionally in the Middle Kingdom and frequently thereafter determined by the seated man.²⁴⁹

Though there must have been at all times a staff of scribes attached to the office of the vizier the title *sš n tity* is curiously rare. It appears not to have existed at all in the Old Kingdom, is known to me from only five texts of the Middle Kingdom, all late XIIth or XIIIth Dynasty,²⁵⁰ and to *Wb.* (iii, 480, 12) only from one of these and from four documents of Dynasties XVIII-XX. In our present texts the Scribes of the Vizier appear to be functioning as the Upper Egyptian agents or representatives of the vizier himself, from whose office at It-towy, as already suggested, the directives of the "d" columns may have been issued. A comparable function was performed at about this time by the Vizier's Scribe Sonbe ("the son of the Vizier," 'Ankhu) who in the reign of Nyma'enkha'rêr Khendjer of the XIIIth Dynasty came to Abydos to call the phyle-leader Amenysonbe "on business of the vizier."²⁵¹ Papyrus Abbott (4, 6) records the fact that "the Scribe of the Vizier" served on a commission charged with making a report to the vizier and the prefect of Nō on plundered tombs in the Theban necropolis.²⁵² In the larger manuscript of Papyrus Bulak 18 we hear of Scribes of the Vizier conducting a chief of Medjay and his followers to the city of Thebes;²⁵³ and in the smaller manuscript, of a deputy (*idnw*) who came "from the north with (*m-r*) the Chief Scribe of the Vizier (*sš wr n tity*), Ressonbe."²⁵⁴ Papyrus Anastasi V (14, 2) speaks of a woman who went "before the Scribes of the Vizier into

247. The otherwise likely *t*-over-two-diagonal-strokes (X 1 over Z 4) seems ruled out on palaeographical grounds (see Möll. *Pal.* i, No. IXL).

248. *P. Boul.* xviii, facsimile, pl. 49, Col. 2, Lines 10, 16.

249. *Wb.* v, 343; Gard. *Egn. Gr.* pp. 43, 601; Faulkner, *The Wilbour Papyrus*, iv, p. 52; P. Turin 2021 (271), *passim* (Černý and Peet, *JEA*. 13, 30-39, pls. 13-15).

250. See below, Footnotes 251, 253, 254, 256.

251. Louvre Stela C.12, Line 3: Sethe, *Lesestücke*, No. 17 (p. 76); Gard. *Egn. Gr. Exerc.* XXXII (b) (3); Breasted, *Ancient Records*, I, § 783.

252. Peet, *The Great Tomb-robberies*, p. 39, pl. II.

253. *P. Boul.* xviii, 44 and 69 (Scharff, *AZ.* 57, 61).

254. *P. Boul.* xviii, facsimile, pl. 49, Col. 2, Lines 15-16.

her house";²⁵⁵ and *Urk.* iv, 1104 (11), directs that the Scribes of the Vizier shall take their place "beside" (*r-r*) the vizier in his court. On two rather crudely worked stelae of late Middle Kingdom date the brother of one owner and the son of the other bear the title *sš n tšty*.²⁵⁶

Of the names of the six scribes of the vizier whose "signatures" appear in the endorsements of the "f" columns three may be read with certainty. The conclusions of the cases of Lines 4-8, 10, 55-57, and 59-63 are attested to by the scribe Deduamūn (*Ddw-'Imn*); those of Lines 46-54, by the scribe Amenro (*'Imn-r*); and those of Lines 64-80, by the scribe Amenysonbe (*'Imny-snb*). Enough remains, opposite Lines 32-37, of the name Nakhti (*Nḥt[i]*) to make the restoration of this common name at least highly likely (cf. Lines 12 a, 23 a, 33 a, and 80 a). The readings of the names Shenen (*Šnn*: Lines [1-3(?)], 12, 38-45) and Shenu (*Šnw*: Line 9), on the other hand, are extremely doubtful, neither of these names being documented elsewhere.

It is probable that each scribe wrote in all of his "f" entries at one time or during one relatively short period, distributing them singly or in groups throughout the list as circumstances demanded; and that each of the later scribes in succession added his endorsements above, below, or between those of his predecessors until, little by little, all the cases involved (with two exceptions)²⁵⁷ were written off as "completed." This, in turn, would seem to indicate that only one Vizier's Scribe at a time was charged with representing his master's office in the *ḥnrt wr* at Thebes; and that, having performed this duty for a limited period, he was replaced by one of his colleagues.

There is, naturally enough, no general correspondence between the order in which the notations of the "f" columns were added and the order in which the fugitives were originally listed in the "a" columns. There is, however, *some* relationship between the groupings of the entries in the two series. For example, the cases of the two brothers of Lines 1 a and 2 a, who probably ran away together and were brought back together, are written off together by one and the same scribe in the first two lines of the "f" entries. Conversely, since there can have been no association between the woman of This of Line 63 and the man of Silsileh of Line 64, it is not surprising to find that the terminations of their cases were recorded at different times by different scribes.

Though in every instance an interval of time must have elapsed between the entry of the red notation of the "e" column and the terminal statement of the "f" column there is throughout a very close and very natural association between the

255. Gardiner, *Bibl. Aeg.* vii, p. 63. Spiegelberg, *Studien*, 10.

256. Cairo 20426 (h) and Leiden V.110 (*Leyd.* ii, pl. 14, No. 16).

257. Lines 11 and 58. In the former the "e" and "f" entries were never made (Plate II). In the latter there is no "f" nor "g" entry (Plates VII, V) and the sentence of the "d" entry, as we have seen, is not invoked against the fugitive himself.

entries of *these* two series. Wherever there is a change in the "e" entries — from "here" to "being brought" or vice versa — we find the beginning of a new entry in the "f" column. It is reasonable to suppose that the cases of the fugitives who at the time the "e" entries were made were already "present" (in the *hnrt wr* ?) were the first to be disposed of. Among the corresponding "f" entries those of the scribe Deduamūn are probably — from their number and the early position which some of them occupy in the list — to be accorded first priority in time. Next in chronological order would come the entries of the scribes Nakhti (Lines 32-37) and Amen'o (Lines 46-54); and then the entries (opposite the "being-brought" notations of the "e" columns) of the scribes Shenen(?) ([1-3 ?], 12, etc.) and Shenu(?) (9). Last of all are probably (though not certainly) to be placed the endorsements of the scribe Amenysonbe of Lines 64-80.

An interesting chronological aspect of our lists emerges from the circumstance that apparently the same vizier's scribe (Deduamūn) wrote off the cases of both the fugitives of Lines 4-8 and those of Lines 55-57. Since the directives issued against the former are dated to Regnal Year 10 (of Amenemhēt III ?) and those against the latter, to Regnal Year 31, it would seem that well over twenty-one years must have elapsed before the runaways of the first group were brought to justice. Since, on the other hand, the period in question cannot have exceeded the remaining life span of the fugitives themselves, who were presumably grown men at the time they ran away, the maximum time range between the writing of Lines 4-8 d and the addition of Lines 55-7 f cannot have been much more than forty years.

7. THE "g" ENTRIES

These symbols — in every instance a hieratic form of the *kn*-sign (Aa 8: Möll. *Pal.* i, No. 604) — are evidently nothing more than abbreviated versions of the statement of the "f" entries, and may be understood to mean "completed" or, perhaps better, "case closed." They show considerable variation in the details of the hieratic character and were probably added from time to time by the writers of the "f" notations, being placed in front of the lines of text so as to come instantly to the attention of subsequent users of the list. The space in front of Line 58 (Plate V) is blank because in this instance, as we have seen, the case was apparently never closed; and it is probable, from the absence of the corresponding "e" and "f" entries, that the *kn*-sign in front of Line 11 was added perfunctorily and is without significance. Other blanks in the "e," "f," and "g" column may of course have existed in the portions of the papyrus which are now missing; and perhaps Djebas (of Line 11) and Dedusobk (of Line 58) were not the only ones of our runaway laborers who made good their escapes.

8. SUMMARY

Having discussed the successive entries of the principal texts on the *recto* of our papyrus in more or less the same piecemeal manner in which they were originally written down let us now take one of the seventy-six cases listed and follow it in translation and analysis straight across from Entry "a" to Entry "g." Typical and well preserved is the case of the woman of Line 63 (Plates V-VII). Since the proportions of our printed page forbid reproducing the long horizontal-line arrangement of the original the entries are given here, not side by side, but one above the other:

- (a) "The [daugh]ter of Sianḥūr, Teti,
- (b) (of) the Scribe of the Fields of This,
- (c) woman:
- (d) (An order) was issued to the Great Pri[son] (in) Regnal Year 31, Month 3 of Shōmu, Day 9, to release (her people) in the law-court, being (an order) issued in order to execute against her the law pertaining to one who runs away without performing his service.
- (e) *Here* (check mark).
- (f) *Statement by the Scribe of the Vizier, Deduamūn: 'It [is] completed.'*
- (g) Case closed."

Back of these brief notations there lies a story which we may reconstruct something along the following lines:

In or slightly before the thirty-first regnal year of King Amenemḥet III (?) of the XIIth Dynasty (1812 B.C.) Teti, the daughter of Sianḥūr, a peasant girl of the town of This in Upper Egypt, was registered for statute labor on the state-controlled farm-lands adjoining her home town and was assigned for the duration of her period of service to a group of workers under the supervision of a Scribe of the Fields of This. Finding her tasks — either in anticipation or in actuality — unbearably onerous the young woman inadvisedly ran away to avoid performing them, her flight taking her perhaps beyond the boundaries of Egypt proper.

Upon the discovery of her absence her family were seized and held as security for her return either in a local prison, under the jurisdiction of a district court, or administrative council, or in the Great Prison at Thebes under the jurisdiction of the superior court of southern Upper Egypt. Since This was in the "department" of Egypt of which Thebes was both the geographical and administrative center and since wilful evasion of government-imposed labor obligations was a criminal offense, her name and other pertinent information regarding her were sent to the Great Prison and were there entered in a papyrus-list of such fugitives maintained in the prison archives. The same information was evidently reported also to the office of a high-ranking official of the central government — that of the Vizier at It-towy or that of the Reporter of the Department of the Head of the South at Thebes.

Shortly thereafter the authority referred to, reviewing the findings of the local court, placed the whole guilt for her crime on the fugitive herself and issued an order to the Great Prison instructing that institution to release her family by due legal procedure and to punish her in accordance with the section of the criminal code relating to the specific offense committed. A copy or resumé of this order was entered after Teti's name and "pedigree" in the Great Prison's list of fugitive labor-conscripts. From the directive of Line 57 d it would appear that the usual punishment in cases of this type was permanent commitment as an unpaid laborer to the government farms and workhouses.

In the course of time — perhaps after many years — the woman was captured and brought for punishment to the Great Prison, her presence within its confines being duly recorded in the line devoted to her case by an abbreviated writing of the word "here."

Finally, when her punishment had been meted out and the government requirements concerning her had been fulfilled, a scribe of the vizier formally wrote off her case with the words "It is completed" and inserted before her name a large *kn*-sign indicating to future users of the list that she and the problems connected with her were now "finished business."

With a certain amount of variation in detail this seems to have been the story of most of the fugitives listed. Some were identified by other means than reference to the official in charge of their work group. Some had run away under circumstances sufficiently different from those associated with the woman Teti to fall under a different section of the law, or laws, pertaining to absconding labor-conscripts. There must have been something peculiarly heinous about the manner in which Montu-hotpe of Line 57 abandoned his obligations, for his punishment, involving his family as well as himself, was exceptionally severe. Some of the arrested fugitives were not actually in the *hnrt wr* when the red entries of the "e" columns were made, but were in the process of "being brought" or of returning of their own volition. A few were probably captured within a week or so after their attempts to escape, while others appear to have remained at large for twenty or thirty years. At least two, as we have seen, were evidently not captured at all. All, however, were people of the same class and circumstances, all were guilty of essentially the same offense, and all were dealt with according to the same pattern and listed together in the same document.

Assuming, as seems certain, that this list was all that the Brooklyn papyrus was originally intended to contain, we can, I believe, identify by title the document of which our manuscript once formed a part. It was a document which we have every reason to believe was kept in the *hnrt wr*, or Great Prison, at Thebes. Its contents comprised, as we have seen, a running list, or tabulated record, added to from time to time as occasion arose, of persons who were quite evidently classed as criminals. Have we not, then, before us a section of the *šfd n hbnty nty wnn m hnrt wr*, "the

Criminal Register which is in the Great Prison," mentioned prominently in the Duties of the Vizier ²⁵⁸ and referred to repeatedly in the preceding pages?

Though our list was complete in itself it can obviously have constituted only a small section of the entire register. In this connection we may recall that a minute portion of another and apparently similar list still adheres to the torn left end of our manuscript (Chap. I, 2; Plate VII) and that its extreme right end, now destroyed, may also have been attached to another length of papyrus. For some reason which is not apparent we seem to have recorded here, not all the cases of this type which occurred in southern Upper Egypt during a given period of time, but only groups of such cases selected out of the hundreds which must have come up during the twenty-one-year period embraced between the dates of the first and last of the "d" entries. Since the way in which the list has been gradually added to and filled out precludes the possibility that it is a copy or excerpt, we must suppose that the selection of the cases recorded in this portion of the register was made by the compilers of the register itself.

258. *Dav. Rekh.* p. 89, pl. 26 (14).

III. THE INSERTIONS ON THE RECTO

The remaining texts on the *recto* of the papyrus are not, as we have seen, parts of the register of runaway labor-conscripts, but complete and separate entities in themselves, inserted here and there wherever sufficiently large areas of blank papyrus could be found between the columns of the register.²⁵⁹ Aside from this characteristic they share in common the fact that they are all copies of official documents — an administrative letter of the late XIIth Dynasty (A) and two royal decrees of the mid-XIIIth Dynasty (B and C) — made very shortly after the originals of these documents were drawn up and cited in our papyrus either as information pertinent to actions contemplated or already carried out, or as legal authority for these actions.

In other respects the inserted texts themselves fall into two distinct and widely separated groups. Insertion A appears to have been added to the *recto* of the papyrus before the final entries of the register proper were filled in,²⁶⁰ and the direct relationship of its content to that of the register is a more or less foregone conclusion. Insertions B and C, on the other hand, seem not to have been made until more than sixty years later, and their association with the main texts of the *recto*, if demonstrable at all, was of a far more tenuous nature.

1. INSERTION "A" (PLATE IV)

What remains of this sadly damaged text may be restored to read:

1. Regnal Year 36, [Month . . . of . . . , la]st day.
2. *Copy of the words [which were brought]t from the district-councillor, Gebu,*
3. *saying: "It is a com[munica]tion to the master (May he live, prosper, and be well!) to the effect that*
4. *this servant has read the wo[rds which were bro]ught to this servant*
5. *saying 'Make for yourself [peo]ple(?) (of) the Southern City.*
6. *Hasten the son of Nak[ht]i,*
7. *Sioķer, [from?] the city,*
8. *is brought from*
9.
10. -w(?)' " ²⁶¹

Among the many other letters of the late XIIth Dynasty with which the opening formulae of Insertion A may be compared one of the closest parallels is *P. Kah.* 35,

259. See above, Chapter I, 2.

260. Ibid.

261. One or two more lines may have followed (see above, Chapter I, 2).

29 ff. (see especially Lines 30-33) which, like our present document, is the acknowledgment of a letter received from a superior and includes a quotation of the instructions contained therein. The Lahûn letter was sealed and stamped with a seal of a "Steward of King Amenemhêt" (*P. Kah.* p. 80) and is probably to be dated also to the reign of Amenemhêt III. The Semnah Despatches provide examples of copies of administrative letters entered for future reference in a permanent record book (Smither, *JEA.* 31, 4); and in two cases (Despatches 5 and 8) the text of the original letter is preceded by the title "Copy of . . . (*mît n* . . .)" written, as here, in red ink.²⁶² In P. Berlin 10470 (I, 7) a "Copy of (*mîty n*)" a despatch-order from the Office of the Vizier is quoted in its entirety in a report concerning a servant-girl (Smither, *JEA.* 34, 32).

When the copy of a document postdates the drawing-up of the original document by an appreciable length of time — as in the case of *P. Kah.* 12, 1 ff. — the title "Copy of . . ." naturally precedes the date-line of the original. The fact that here (as in Insertions B and C and *P. Kah.* 9, 2) it is inserted between the date and text of the original must mean that the copy was made either at the same time as the original or so shortly thereafter that the same date would serve for both versions. In the present instance we may suppose that the copy preserved in our papyrus was made almost immediately upon receipt of the original letter by its unnamed addressee.

Before going further into the general significance of Insertion A a few minor points in the transcription, translation, and interpretation require comment.

The transcription of the two final signs in Line 1 as the double reed-leaf (M 17, M 17) and the restoration of the final word in this line as [*rk*]*y*, "last day," was suggested by Gardiner who pointed out to me the Middle Kingdom writing of this word without the "day"-determinative (N 5) referred to in his *Egn. Gr.*, § 264. As in Line 2, so also in other letters of this period the source of the letter, when a person, is regularly preceded by the compound preposition *m-r*, "from,"²⁶³ the simple preposition *m* being employed when the source is a place, or institution, such as an office or a fortress.²⁶⁴

The title *knbt y n w*, borne by the originator of our letter, is known to us chiefly from texts of the XIIth and XVIIIth Dynasties.²⁶⁵ Though, like the *ddt* of the

262. See also Berlin P. 10050 *recto*, 1-5 (Möll. *HL.* i, p. 18; Borchardt, *ÄZ.* 37, 98); and cf. Berlin P. 10096 (Scharff, *ÄZ.* 59, Sheet 10); *Sin.* B. 178 and 204 (Gard. *Sin.* pp. 63, 76); *P. Boul.* xviii, 19, 45; *P. Kah.* 9, 2; 12, 1; Gardiner, *Unt.* iv. 3, p. 22.

263. Gard. *Egn. Gr.*, § 178 (p. 132, 3). To the references cited there add Semnah Despatches 2, 7 and 3, 7 (Smither, *JEA.* 31, 7, 8).

264. P. Berlin 10470, I, 7 (Smither, *JEA.* 34, 32); Semnah Despatches 4, 6 (Smither, *JEA.* 31, 9).

265. *Wb.* v, 54 (12); *P. Kah.* 11, 22 (pp. 31, 102); *Seas.* iii, 86; v, 114; Berlin P. 10021, 2 a (Scharff, *ÄZ.* 59, 45-7, Sheet 9); Dav. *Rekh.* pp. 34, 92, pls. 27 (19, 24-5). 29, 1. 30-35. 40 (= *Urk.* iv, 1111, 1113, etc.).

Old Kingdom and later times,²⁶⁶ the *knbt*-councils evidently functioned both as administrative bodies and as courts of law,²⁶⁷ the activities of the *knbtj n w*, as revealed to us in the texts referred to, seem to have been entirely of an administrative nature. In the tomb of Rekhmirê at Thebes (Dyn. XVIII) the *knbtjw* of the districts (*ww*) and towns of Upper Egypt are represented with other local officials in the act of delivering the tax-payments from their districts to the office of the vizier.²⁶⁸ Of the vizier himself it is said in the same tomb "It is he who sends out the councillors of the nome(s) (*knbtjw nw w*) to make irrigation canals throughout the entire land";²⁶⁹ and "It is he who shall send for the district-assessors (*knbtjw nw w*) and it is he who shall despatch them that they may report to him on the state of their districts."²⁷⁰ The "district-councillor" was, then, a local official charged not only with a variety of administrative duties, but also with the responsibility of maintaining liaison with the central government and keeping it informed on activities and conditions in his nome or township. That the office was one of some dignity and importance is suggested by the mention in three late XIIth Dynasty papyri of an "attendant," or "bodyguard," "of the district-councillor" (*imy-sj n knbtj n w*).²⁷¹

The proper name *Gbw* written, as apparently here, with plural strokes occurs elsewhere on a stela of the late Middle Kingdom from Abydos (Cairo 20286 f) where it is borne by the "Overseer of a Temple (*imy-r hwt-ntr*)."²⁷² The same name, written without plural strokes, is designated by Ranke (*PN. i*, 350, 16) as "m MR häufig," the example cited belonging to a deputy (*idnw*) mentioned in *P. Kah.* 12, 14. Though *Gbw* seems the more likely reading of the name of our councillor we should not overlook the possibility that the third hieratic character in the name is not cursive-*w*-over-plural-strokes, but the pintail duck (G 39; Möll. *Pal. i*, No. 216), and that the name is to be read *Sj-b(w)-sj* (*PN. i*, 281, 21) or, conceivably, *Sj-Gb*.

After *dd* in Line 3 we would seem to have the two *t*'s of an unnecessary [*n*]*tt*, "that," the destroyed *n* having been written above the first *t* and ligatured with it; but, since *ntt* is not normally employed after verbs of saying (*Gard. Egn. Gr.* § 224), the reading is offered only with the strongest misgivings. Further along in the same line the words *pw n* are written, as nearly always in letters of this period,²⁷³ with the

266. See above, Chapter II, 2 and 4.

267. *Wb.* v, 53-4; Gabra, *Conseils*, 1 ff., 11-32, 37-9; Spiegelberg, *Studien*, 13-59; Seidl, *Einführung*, 32 f.; Gardiner, *Unt.* iv 3, 32-8; *AEO.*, see under A 112 and A 452; *Egn. Gr.* § 511, 1, 2nd ex.; Vocab. XXX; sign-list, under O 38; Kees, *Ägypten*, 219; Černý, *JEA.* 13, 37 and n. 1; 31, 31; Lourie, *JEA.* 17, 62-4; Glanville, *JEA.* 14, 304; Pflüger, *JNES.* 5, 265-6, 268; etc.

268. *Dav. Rekh.* p. 34, pls. 29-35 and 40.

269. *Op. cit.*, p. 92, pl. 27, Lines 24-5.

270. *Ibid.*, Line 19. The translation given above follows *Gard. Egn. Gr.*, Exercise XXX, iii.

271. *P. Kah.* 11, 22; 34, 14; Berlin P. 10021, 2a (Scharff, *Loc. cit.*). See also Newberry, *Scarabs*, pl. XVII, 25.

272. *P. Kah.* 29, 2. 32. 45; 32, 2; 35, 26. 30; 36, 1. 48. 53; etc.

p above and ligatured with the *n*, and the *w* following after. On the reference to the addressee of the letter as *nb*, "the master," see Gunn, *JEA*. 31, 107-8; and on the translation of *sdm·n* in Line 4 as "has read," rather than "has heard," Smither, *JEA*. 34, 31 ff. At the beginning of the cited instructions (Line 5) *lr n·k* is more likely to be the imperative with reflexive dative, "make (for yourself)," (Gard. *Egn. Gr.* §§ 337, 338 1st ex.) than the *sdm·n·f* form, "you have made."²⁷³ Toward the end of Line 5 the reading of the man-and-woman-over-plural-strokes (see under A 1; Möll. *Pal.* i, No. LIX) is doubtful; but *nṯwt rs(y)t*, "the Southern City," seems reasonably certain, as does also *nṯwt* at the end of Line 7 (cf. Insertion C, Lines 2 and 4: Plate VI).

Though *Nḥti*'s son, *Sṯ-ṯkr*, referred to in Lines 6-7, was presumably a resident of the councillor *Gbw*'s district and may well have been a fugitive labor-conscript, he is not one of those listed in the extant portions of the adjoining register, the *-ṯkr* names in Lines 42-43 a of this list belonging not to fugitives themselves, but to their parents. Incidentally, the name *Sṯ-ṯkr*, though clearly written here and of common enough type, is not included by Ranke in his *Personennamen* and is, so far as I can discover, unknown elsewhere.

Since our copy of this letter was appended to a document kept in the *hnrt wr* at Thebes and since the identity of the addressee of the letter is not given in the heading of the copy we are more or less forced to the conclusion that the addressee in question was the *hnrt wr* itself or one of its top officials. It follows, then, that the councillor *Gebu*'s district was in that part, or "department (*wṛt*)," of Egypt which looked to Thebes as its administrative center; and that *Gebu*'s letter and the earlier communication of which it was an acknowledgment dealt with activities of a sufficiently criminal nature to come under the jurisdiction of the Great Prison. The exact nature of these activities may be surmised from the fact that a copy of the letter was inserted between the columns of a register of runaway laborers before the final entries in the register itself had been completed. Aside from the indications that it had to do with people in general and with a man named *Sṯ-ṯkr* in particular the text of the letter itself is too fragmentary to be of much help, though the isolated expressions "hasten" (Line 6) and "is brought," or "are brought," (Line 8) may be of some significance. Perhaps the most interesting bit of information to be gleaned from Insertion A is that it was apparently one of the numerous duties of the district-councillors to report to and carry out instructions from the *hnrt wr* in regard to fugitives from the local corvées. It seems, indeed, likely that reports from just such local officials formed the basis of the lists of the main register of Lines 1-80.

273. Another possibility is that *lr* is passive *sdm·f*, in which case we should read "made for you is . . ."

2. INSERTIONS "B" AND "C" (PLATES V AND VI)

The numerous lacunae in these two texts and the careless and inconsistent manner in which they are written makes the reading of some of their more interesting portions a matter of the utmost uncertainty. In the transcriptions of Plates V A and VI A and in the translations offered herewith the question-marks which accompany many of the signs and groups are not mere trimming, but are intended to express very real doubts as to the correctness of the readings so queried. Some of the more problematical passages might better have been left untranscribed; but this seemed an expedient to be avoided so long as there was hope that prolonged study and discussion of the passages in question might have produced even partially correct readings. It cannot be too strongly emphasized that no general conclusions should be drawn from my renderings of Lines 8, 9, and 17 of Insertion B and Lines 5-8 of Insertion C without first checking these renderings against the photographs of the original texts; and that my own conclusions insofar as they are associated with the passages referred to are necessarily tentative.

Since the texts are both royal edicts issued apparently in successive years of the same king, make use of the same formulae throughout, and are related to one another in subject matter, they are best dealt with together.

In translation Insertion B (Plate V) ²⁷⁴ runs as follows:

1. [Regnal Year 5 ?], Month 3 of Prōyet, Day 20 + ?.
2. [*Copy of*] a royal decree which was brought to [*the offi*]ce of
3. [*the Report*]er of the Southern City.
4. Royal decree [to the Overseer of] the City, the Vizier, the Overseer of the Six Great Mansions.
5. 'Ankhu: "Be[ho]ld, there is brought to you this decree of the king
6. to inform you that [peti]tion has been made by
7. the Elder of the Por[tal], Yebiy^{au}, son of Remeny^{ankhe},
8. saying, 'May a com[plaint in ?] writing(?) be made by grace
9. of the king's fav[or] against the accountant(?) in charge of(?) prisoners,
10. who has committed a violation against the fugitive Se^{ankhu}, (namely)
11. Pay, causing him to be brought to the Residence
12. and questioned concerning the violation which he has committed.'
13. So he said. Behold, it has been heard.
14. Cause that he be brought under guard(?) to
15. the Residence.
16. Then shall you take action against him.

274. The text, inverted in the photograph, is turned "right side up" in the transcription.

17. Behold, the king (may he live, prosper, and be well!) com[municates ?]
 18."

and Insertion C (Plate VI):²⁷⁵

1. Regnal Year 6, Month 3 of Pröyet, Day 3.
2. [*Copy of*] an[other royal decr]ee which was brought to the office of the Reporter of the Southern City.
3. [Roya]l decree to the [Over]seer [of the Cit]y, the Vizier, the Overseer of the Six Great Mansions, 'Ankhu: "Behold, there is brought [to you this decree of] the king
4. to inform you that the Treasurer of the King of Lower Egypt, the Overseer of Fi[el]ds of the Southern City,, [son of Yebiy]aꜣu, has made petition
5. saying, 'Insolent ones(?) (are) in [my] domain, transporting(?) people of (my) home by seizure(?) to Yatsekhetyu.
6. Let there be given to me from the Office of the Provider-of-peopl[e the mem]bers of the household of Pay, the accursed(?), letting (them) be given to me to be members of (my) household.' So he said.
7. Behold, what has been done has been heard. Be[ho]ld the orders(?) pertaining thereto: Let him who is in the Residence come(?). Then shall you cause (a directive) to be issued [concerning]
8. the people thereof. Let him who is in the Southern City come(?). Then shall you take action against him. Behold, the king (may he live, prosper, and be well!) communicates(?) with you accordingly(?)."

The first of many problems which confront us in connection with these two decrees is the restoration of the missing year-date of Insertion B. To undertake this we must first establish the time relationship of the decrees to one another. At first glance it might appear that, since both are dated to 3rd Pröyet and both are copied in the same hand, they were drawn up at the beginning and end of the same month, Insertion C antedating Insertion B by some twenty days. Insertion C, however, is described in its title (Line 2) as the copy of "another" ²⁷⁶ decree issued, like B, to the Vizier 'Ankhu. It occupies, moreover, not the first, but the second space available to the left of Insertion A, cites the petition of a man who may well have been a son of the petitioner of Insertion B, and quite evidently reflects a later stage in the development of the case against the erring Pay. This being so, it would appear to have been drawn up almost a year later than Insertion B, the date of which may, then, be restored as "Regnal Year 5."

275. Ibid.

276. The end of the long red handle-stroke of the *k* in the word *k[y]*, "another," may be seen in the photograph of Plate VII extending from near the beginning of Line 2 of Insertion C to the "e" entry of Line 78 of the main texts.

Aside from the unnamed king, whose identity we may hope to establish later with the aid of the texts on the *verso* of the papyrus, the "cast of characters" involved in these two texts comprises four men, all government officials of varying degrees of importance.

ʿAnkhu (ʿnḫw), the addressee of both degrees, was without much doubt the well known late Middle Kingdom vizier of that name who is listed by Weil on p. 47 (§ 16) of his *Die Veziere des Pharaonenreiches*. Two stelae from Abydos indicate that ʿAnkhu served as vizier under King Nymaʿenkhaʿrēʿ Khendjer (II) of the mid-XIIIth Dynasty;²⁷⁷ and in the larger manuscript of Papyrus Bulak 18 he is associated, again as vizier, with a King Sobkḥotpe of the same period.²⁷⁸ A "store-house(?) of the Vizier ʿAnkhu" is mentioned in the smaller manuscript of Bulak 18 in an entry dated to "Regnal Year 5" of an unidentified king²⁷⁹—perhaps the same year in which the original of our Insertion B appears to have been issued. From the stela of his son-in-law, Wepwawethotpe, in Cairo (Cairo 20690, c)²⁸⁰ it would appear that ʿAnkhu was succeeded in office by his son, the Vizier Ressonbe, who may be the same man associated with him as Chief Scribe of the Vizier in the smaller manuscript of Papyrus Bulak 18.²⁸¹ Another son, Iymeru(-Neferkarēʿ), was vizier under one of the later Sobkḥotpes (V-VII),²⁸² but was preceded in office, in the reign of Khaʿneferrēʿ Sobkḥotpe IV, by the Vizier Iymeru, son of Iymeru.²⁸³ Taking into consideration the reigns covered by his three successors, ʿAnkhu's own viziership seems to have extended from the time of Khendjer II to that of Sekhemrēʿ Sewadjtowy Sobkḥotpe III, the king under whom the larger manuscript of Papyrus Bulak 18 was probably compiled.²⁸⁴ In addition to those already mentioned the known members of ʿAnkhu's extensive family included his mother, Ḥenwetipu, his wife, Merer-yet, a third son, the Scribe of the Vizier, Seneb, a daughter, Senebḥenʿaes, and four grandchildren, none of whom appear to have been of any historical importance.²⁸⁵

277. Louvre C. 11 and 12: Sethe, *Lesestücke*, No. 17; Breasted, *Anc. Rec.* i, § 783. See Drioton-Vandier, *L'Égypte*, 314, 325 ff.

278. See Hayes, *JNES*. 12, 36 n. 33, 38-9.

279. *P. Boul.* xviii, facsimile, pl. 49, col. 2, Lines 9-10. Thanks to Mr. Cooney, who during his stay in Egypt in 1952-53 as Director of the American Study Center had the smaller manuscript of Papyrus Bulak 18 photographed in its entirety on two separate occasions by two different photographers, I am well provided with negatives and prints of this interesting but difficult document.

280. See Gauthier, *Ann.* 18, 265-9.

281. *P. Boul.* xviii, facsimile, pl. 49, col. 2, Line 16.

282. Newberry, *PSBA*. 25, 360-1; Mariette, *Karnak*, pl. 8 r. See Cairo 20690 c; Weil, *Veziere*, pp. 47-8. There is no basis for Ranke's suggestion (*Mélanges Maspero*, i, 363-5) that this Iymeru was not the son, but the father of ʿAnkhu.

283. Ranke, *Op. cit.*, 361 ff.

284. Hayes, *JNES*. 12, 38-9.

285. Weil, *Loc. cit.*; Gauthier, *Loc. cit.* The son, Seneb, figures prominently in the text of Louvre C.12 (Sethe, *Lesestücke*, No. 17, p. 76; Gard. *Egn. Gr. Exerc.* XXXII (b) (3)).

A statue of 'Ankhu's father, with the name of the owner missing, was found in the Karnak cache (Cairo 42034); and in the inscriptions on this statue there seem to be references to his grandfather, himself a vizier(?), and perhaps also to his great grandfather, a priest of Amūn.²⁸⁶ A "Treasurer of the Vizier 'Ankhu," named Siḥathōr, was the owner of three inscribed slabs from an Abydene cenotaph of this period, now in the Hermitage Museum in Leningrad,²⁸⁷ and a stela in Leiden (Leyd. V 21: *Denkm.* ii, No. 42).

During the late Middle Kingdom and well down into Hyksos times the ancient judiciary title *imy-r ḥwt wrt* 6, "Overseer of the Six Great Mansions," or "Great Courts," is found almost as regularly before the names of viziers as are the first two titles, *imy-r nḥwt* and *tjty*. It is borne not only by 'Ankhu himself,²⁸⁸ but by nearly all of his successors, including the three viziers referred to in Cairo J. 52453 (Dyn. XVII) and the Vizier Amenemḥet of P. Berlin 10470 (2nd Intermediate Period).²⁸⁹ Common in the titularies of viziers from the end of the Vth or the beginning of the VIth Dynasty, the title continued in use until Late Dynastic times, though without the significance which it held for the Old and Middle Kingdoms.²⁹⁰ It has been discussed in varying degrees of detail by a number of writers.²⁹¹

The provenience and content of several of the monuments associated with the Vizier 'Ankhu suggest that, like many of the kings and key-officials of the XIIIth Dynasty, he and his family were Thebans. Though as vizier he may have maintained a branch office at Thebes,²⁹² his headquarters and principal office would in all probability have been at It-towy, north of the Fayyūm, the royal Residence city and capital of Egypt throughout the XIIth and, I believe, the XIIIth Dynasties.²⁹³

Turning to the petitioner of Insertion B (Line 7) we may note at the outset that the presence of the seated-man-determinative after his name and before the word

286. See Weil, *Loc. cit.*

287. Lourié, *Mélanges Maspero*, i, 907-8, plate; Struve, *Sbornik gosudarstvennovo Ermitaja*, fasc. iii, 14; Flittner, *History of Art of the Ancient East*, i (Leningrad, 1944), pl. 20. Cf. Boreux, *Bull.* 30, 45-8, 3 plates.

288. *P. Boul.* xviii, 55. 60. 74.

289. See above, notes 282, 283. See also Lacau, *Stèle juridique*, 52; Smither, *JEA.* 34, 32, pl. VII, Line 8.

290. *Wb.* iii, 4 (10); Dav. *Rekh.* 98 (No. 16), pl. 24; Weil, *Veziere*, *passim*.

291. Sethe, *AZ.* 28, 48; Spiegelberg, *Studien*, 5; Gardiner, *Adm.*, pp. 18, 51; Harari, *Contribution*, 18 ff.

292. Posener has drawn my attention to a seal of the late XIIth Dynasty found in Nubia by the Harvard-Boston Expedition (*Bull. Mus. Fine Arts*, 28, 51, fig. 4, No. 17) and described by R[eisner] and W[heeler] (*Ibid.* 54) as having been "carved at Thebes." Its legend consists of the words *ḥj n tjty n tp rs(y)*, which is probably to be understood to mean, not "The Office of the Vizier of the Head of the South," but "The Vizier's Office of the Head of the South."

293. *JNES.* 12, 33-8.

ss, "son," requires us to read here "'Ib(·i)-i(w), son of Rmny-*enḥ*," and not "'Ib(·i)-i(w)'s son, Rmny-*enḥ*."²⁹⁴ By the same token the name [*'Ib(·i)-i*]*w* partially preserved at the end of Line 4 of Insertion C, though perhaps referring to the same man, will in this case have belonged to the father of the petitioner and not to the petitioner himself, whose name must have occupied the preceding lacuna. In other words, it seems likely, though not certain, that the petitioner of Insertion C was the son of the petitioner of Insertion B. Other considerations aside, the difference in their titles indicates clearly that two different men are involved.

A search through Lieblein's *Dictionnaire de noms*, Ranke's *Personennamen*, Lange and Schäfer's *Grab- und Denksteine*, and similar catalogues of names, titles, and monuments has failed to uncover additional material on our two petitioners or on the man *Pry*, the "target" of their petitions. Among the scores of other officials of the late Middle Kingdom named *'Ib(·i)-i(w)* there was one who bore the common title *smsw hꜣyt*, "Elder of the Portal" (Cairo 20230), but whose father's name, *Ny-sw-Mntw*, makes him of no interest to our present study. A likely place to look for the functionaries mentioned in our two texts seemed to be the approximately contemporary lists of officials contained in the larger manuscript of Papyrus Bulak 18 (*P. Boul.* xviii, 1. 10. 11. 38. etc.); but these, too, proved to a great extent disappointing. Though two of the officials who figure prominently in these lists were named *'Ib(·i)-i(w)*, the titles which they bear make it unlikely that either could have been identical with the man who in Insertion B is designated as an "Elder of the Portal." Conversely, though many *smsw-hꜣyt*'s are listed, not one of these has the name *'Ib(·i)-i(w)*; and the name *Rmny-*enḥ** does not occur at all.²⁹⁵ In most of the lists, however, there follows after "the Treasurer of the King of Lower Egypt, the Commander of Soldiers, *'Ib(·i)-i(w)*," an official named *Ḥaṛankhef (Ḥ-*enḥ*·f)* whose titles (*sdꜣwty-bꜣty*, *imy-r iḥt*) correspond so closely to those of the petitioner of Insertion C that there is a fair probability that he is the same man.²⁹⁶ The chance that the identification is correct seems, in any case, good enough to warrant our referring hereinafter to our Overseer of Fields of the Southern City as "[*Ḥaṛankhef(?)*]," retaining the brackets and the parenthetical question-mark to remind ourselves that the name is a plausible, but not certain, restoration.

Yebiy^ṛau's very common title *smsw hꜣyt*, "Elder of the Portal," or, perhaps better,

294. See above, Chapter II, 1. See also P. Berlin 10470, I, 3 (Smither, *JEA.* 34, 32).

295. *Rmny-*enḥ** was not a common name, and its few known occurrences are confined to the late Middle Kingdom. To Ranke's two references (*PN.* i, 222, 16) we may add the owner of the Louvre "pseudo-stelae" C.16, C.17, and C.18 (Boreux, *Bull.* 30, 45-8), the walls of a small cenotaph from Abydos similar to that of the Vizier *ṛAnkhu*'s treasurer, *Siḥathor* (see above, note 287).

296. The titles *sdꜣwty bꜣty* and *imy-r iḥt* (. . . *wꜣrt mḥt*) are borne in P. Harageh 3, 15 (Smither, *JEA.* 27, 74-6) by an official named *Rdꜣ-nl-Pth* who, however, can hardly have been the man in whom we are interested.

"Elder of the Forehall" (*Wb.* ii, 476, 8-11; *AEO.* A 133), requires little comment. Lacau (*Stèle juridique*, 46), who attaches to it definite judiciary functions, has, I believe, overestimated its significance; and Gardiner (*JEA.* 4, 134 n. 7) and Davies (*Dav. Rek.* 80 n. 7) are probably closer to the mark in seeing in it, respectively, "a dignified name for the door-keeper" or "an old title signifying the ushers" of a palace or temple. It is perhaps to be regarded as an honorary title, without exacting functions, conferred on older men in recognition of distinguished service in some more active office. If its present holder was indeed the father of [Ḥaṣankhef(?)] of Insertion C, he must, in any case, have been sufficiently well advanced in years to warrant his being called an "elder."

[Ḥaṣankhef(?)]'s principal title, *imy-r ḥt n nḥwt rs[t]*, "Overseer of Fields of the Southern City," is perhaps the forerunner of the New Kingdom title *imy-r ḥwt n rsy*, "Overseer of Fields of the Southern Province," discussed by Gardiner in *Wilb.* Comm. 162-3 (see 162 n. 3). It finds a parallel, in the late Middle Kingdom, in the title *imy-r ḥt . . . wrt mḥtt*, "Overseer of Fields . . . (of) the Northern Department," borne by Redinptah of P. Harageh 3 (see footnote 296); and some additional data on the functions of an Overseer of Fields of this period may be gleaned from *P. Kah.* 13, 23. Like the Scribes of the Fields (*sš n ḥt*) who figure prominently in the main texts of our papyrus (Lines 25-65 b) the Overseers of Fields were undoubtedly closely concerned with the various classes of laborers employed on the state lands under their charge;²⁹⁷ and here perhaps we have a clue to the association between the petitioner of Insertion C, the "accountant(?) in charge(?) of prisoners, Pay" (B, 9-11; C, 6), and the register of the Great Prison to which Insertion C was added. Two items of information which do quite definitely seem to emerge from [Ḥaṣankhef(?)]'s title are that he was a Theban official, resident at Thebes, and that he was a man of considerable local importance.²⁹⁸

The villainous Pay, referred to in Insertion C (Line 8) as "he who is in the Southern City," was clearly also a Theban and probably a minor official of the Great Prison. From Line 9 of Insertion B we gather that he was associated in a supervisory capacity with people called *hnt(w)*, which I take to be an alternate form of the word *hnrw*, "prisoners."²⁹⁹ The rest of his title — *hsb hry-ḥt . . .*, "accountant in charge of . . ." — is read with considerable uncertainty. The initial character is not unlike the normal late MK hieratic form of the gland-sign, Aa 2 (*Gard. Egn. Gr.* p. 539; *Möll. Pal.* i, No. 566, "Boulaq 18"); and the title *hsb*, "accountant," is not infrequently, from the Middle Kingdom onward, written with this sign alone (*Wb.*

297. See above, Chapter II, 2 and 4.

298. In *Wilb.* Comm., 163, Gardiner regards an Overseer of Fields of the Southern Province as having "belonged to the highest bureaucracy."

299. *Wb.* iii, 296 (8); cf. 307, bottom. See *Gard. Egn. Gr. Vocabulary XX*, p. 201 n. 1; Sign-list, under D 19 (p. 444); *Adm.* pp. 46-7; and above, Chapter II, 4.

iii, 167, 7). In *hry-hst* the curious form of the *hst*-sign (F 4) seen here occurs not only in Sinuhe B (Möll. *Pal.* i, No. 146), but also in the king's name *'Imn-m-hst* in Lines 12 a and 24 a of our main texts (Plate I). On the other hand, though the compound preposition *hr-hst* occasionally means "superior (in rank) to,"³⁰⁰ I can find no instance in which it unquestionably means "in charge of," its more usual meaning being, of course, "before" either in place or in time. Again, however, the fact that Pay had "committed a violation (*tkk*) against" a man named *Srnhw* who is described in Line 10 as a "fugitive" (*w^crw*) indicates that he was in a position of authority over persons of this description and suggests a further link between him and the Great Prison which, as we have seen, made a specialty of dealing with "fugitives" and must have included many among its inmates. In view of Pay's evident downfall and probable anathematization (C, 6) it is unlikely that he has left us any monuments or is mentioned on the monuments of others. His name, though common in the New Kingdom, is rare before that period (Ranke, *PN.* i, 129, 4).

Since both the persons and the problems dealt with in these decrees were local to Thebes it is natural that, as specified in the rubric titles of our two texts, copies of the decrees should have been forwarded from the office of their original recipient, the vizier, at It-towy, "to the office of the Reporter of the Southern City" at Thebes itself, there to be acted upon and filed away for future reference. The administrative organization and procedure reflected here is paralleled closely in two documents of slightly later date — a leather roll from Elephantine dealing with the ownership of a servant-girl (P. Berlin 10470)³⁰¹ and a stela from Karnak concerned with the now famous sale of the governorship of el Kab (Cairo J.52453).³⁰² From these sources and from the XVIIIth Dynasty scenes of tax-gathering in the tomb of the Vizier Rekhmirē at Thebes³⁰³ it appears that every important Egyptian town, with the exception, of course, of the Residence city, had its own *w^hmw*, or "Reporter," who served as the local representative of the central administration and whose functions seem to have combined those of town-clerk and sheriff.³⁰⁴ Since our present documentation on the local *w^hmw* stems almost entirely from the XVIIth-XVIIIth Dynasties, when Thebes was itself the capital of Egypt, we have no other examples of the title "Reporter of the Southern City"; nor have we any material for establishing the jurisdictional relationship between the Reporters of the individual townships and the Reporters of the larger administrative units, the *w^crw*.³⁰⁵

300. *Wb.* iii, 23 (25); Gard. *Egn. Gr.* § 178 (p. 132); *Sin.* B 48 (Gard. *Sin.* p. 32); Sethe, *Unt.* V 2, note 175.

301. Smither, *JEA.* 34, 31-4. See especially Gardiner's comments on p. 34.

302. Lacau, *Stèle juridique* (*Ann. Cahier* No. 13); *Bull.* 30, 881-96; Harari, *Ann.* 51, 273-97; Drioton-Vandier, *L'Égypte*, 307, 322, 330.

303. Dav. *Rekh.* 32-6, pls. 29-35 and 40(1).

304. See Kees, *AZ.* 70, 89-91; *P. Kah.* 34, 37-8 (p. 79); Gard. *Sin.* 31-2; Dav. *Rekh.* 33-4.

305. On the *w^crw* see *JNES.* 12, 31-3.

Though the words *mît n* . . . , "Copy of . . . , " are actually preserved in neither of our red-ink titles, their original presence at the beginnings of these titles is assured not only by analogy with Insertion A and other transcripts of this class, but also by the feminine form of the participle *inyt*, the antecedent of which was clearly not the masculine noun *wḏ*, "decree," but the feminine [*mît*], "copy." In Insertion C the group [*mît n*] appears to have been at first omitted and then added to the right of the words *k[y wḏ-nsw]* at the beginning of the title (cf. *P. Kah.* 9, 2). The restoration of the word *k[y]*, "an[other]," is explained above (footnote 276).

The headings and opening formulae of the decrees proper, down to and including the word *ntt* . . . , "that . . . " (B 6, C 4), are standard for this type of communication from the XIIth to the XVIIIth Dynasties.³⁰⁶ Close parallels will be found in the letter of King Senwosret I quoted in the Story of Sinuhe (*Sin.* B 178-81; Gard. *Sin.* 63), in the well known Koptite edict of King Nubkheperre Inyotef (*Kopt.* 8), and in the announcement sent by King Thutmose I to his Viceroy of Nubia on the occasion of his accession to the throne (*Urk.* iv, 80). "Royal decree" is perhaps a stilted and unnecessarily literal translation of the words *wḏ-nsw* which are often applied, as here, to communications which seem actually to have been little more than letters of instruction or formal memoranda from the king to the officials and departments of his administration.

It is neither unusual nor surprising to find that, as in the present instances, the bodies, or texts, of such rescripts begin with a statement that such-and-such a person has "made petition," or "brought suit," (*spr·n N.*) and then proceed to quote (after the words *r ḏd* . . . , "saying . . . ") the contents or gist of the petition.³⁰⁷ Though couched in the form of a request made to the king, the petition of Insertion B is really more in the nature of a "complaint" filed against a minor official by a colleague in the rôle either of a public prosecutor or of a private "plaintiff." The same is true of the first half of the petition of Insertion C (Line 5) which in this instance, however, is directed against a group of persons unspecified. It is probable that the petitions were submitted in writing as well as being presented orally,³⁰⁸ and that the excerpts quoted in the decrees were transcribed from the written versions. [*Hḏankhef(?)*] who is referred to (C 7) as "he who is in the Residence city (*nty m ḥnw*)" appears to have journeyed northward to It-towy to lay his case before the pharaoh in person. The surprising feature of both petitions is that they seem to have been made directly to the king without the knowledge of the vizier who had to be

306. Somewhat different headings and introductory phrases are used in the royal decrees of the late Old Kingdom (Hayes, *JEA.* 32, 4 ff.) and, again, in those of Dyn. XIX and later (Griffith, *JEA.* 13, 199 ff.). See Seidl, *Einführung*, 23-4.

307. *Kopt.* 8; P. Berlin 10470, 1, 10 (Smither, *JEA.* 34, 32). Cf. Berlin P. 10023 A, 1-2 (Scharff, *AZ.* 59, 28).

308. On the manner in which petitions were presented and received see Harari, *Contribution*, 45-50; *Ann.* 51, 280-2; Seidl, *Einführung*, 20, 24, 25, 27; Sethe, *Unt.* V 2, 20-23.

informed subsequently of their content. Unless we suppose that during the XIIIth Dynasty the pharaoh was more readily approachable than his prime minister, this curious reversal of the normal procedure must mean that, at the time, the vizier was absent for an extended period from the Residence city. The conclusion of the quoted petition is in each case indicated by the common and much discussed expression *hrw·fy sw*, "so he said" (B 13, C 6).³⁰⁹

Having cited the petitions the king formally acknowledges them with the words *mk st sdm*, "Behold, it has been heard" (B 13), or *mk sdm irt*, "Behold, what has been done has been heard" (C 7). In both these variants of what would seem to have been a standard formula *sdm* is taken to be a passive narrative form of the verb, used, as occasionally elsewhere, after the particle *mk* (Gard. *Egn. Gr.* §§ 184; 422, 1. See also §§ 46; 511, 4). It is highly likely that the force of these phrases is not only that the king has "listened to" (or "read")³¹⁰ the reports and requests contained in the petitions, but that he has "hearkened to" them, or "heard" them with favor, accepting as true the accounts of "what has been done" and granting the petitions proper (see *Wb.* iv, 386 D.). The more elaborate formula of Insertion C is followed by another also beginning with the particle *mk*, "Behold, . . .," and evidently used by the king to introduce his instructions regarding the petition. The papyrus is badly damaged here, and only with a good deal of doubt do we restore the incomplete signs and read *mk wdw[t] irw*, "Be[ho]ld the ord[er]s relating thereto!"

Common to both decrees is the expression *ih ir·k r·f*, "then shall you take action against him," or possibly, "so that you may act against him."³¹¹ In view of the offense (or offenses) committed by the person referred to — presumably Pay — there can be little doubt that *r·f* does indeed mean "against him" and not merely "concerning him" and that the whole expression has the force of "Then shall you prosecute him." The action indicated we may suppose to represent an earlier stage in the proceedings against the accused than that implicit in the expression *irt hp r·f*, "execute the law against him," used repeatedly in our main texts (Chapter II, 4). In the latter the Great Prison is plainly ordered to *punish* the offenders (when captured) in accordance with the law. Here the vizier in his capacity as head of the judiciary branch of the government is merely instructed to institute legal proceedings against the de-

309. *Wb.* iii, 325 (14). To the references cited by *Wb.* add: Cairo J.52453, 18 (Lacau, *Stèle juridique*, 33); *P. Kah.* 13, 37; 36, 9; Berlin P. 10023 A, 3 (Scharff, *ÄZ.* 59, 28); P. Berlin 10470, I, 12 (Smither, *JEA.* 34, 31 n. 1, 32); Semnah Despatches III, 2, 13; V, 10 (Smither, *JEA.* 31, 3-10). See Gard. *Egn. Gr.* § 437 (pp. xxvii, 348); Faulkner, *JEA.* 21, 188 n. 1, 190; Vand. *Mo.* 171, 175. Cf. below, *verso*, B, 4.

310. See above, the commentary on Insertion A, Line 4.

311. On the uses and meanings of the construction *ih* plus perfective *sdm·f* see Gard. *Egn. Gr.* §§ 40, 3; 212, 5th ex.; 228; 440, 4; 450, 5; 346, 4; 407, last ex.; 489; and 505, 3. See also P. Berlin 10470, I, 6 and II, 10 (Smither, *JEA.* 34, 32); *Peas.* B 1, 80 (= R 124); B 1, 178; *Pt.* 30, 33. 39. 595; Grdseloff, *JEA.* 35, 59-62; and, for its use in the text of a royal decree, *Urk.* iv, 80.

fendant — that is, presumably, to indict him and bring him to trial for his misdeeds.

A comparison of Line 17 of Insertion B with the second half of Line 8 of Insertion C shows that both decrees ended with the same formula, a formula which we must suppose to have been appropriate as a conclusion for communications of this type. In both texts the opening words of the formula are clear: *mk nsw (nh) wdj snb*, "Behold, the king (May he live, prosper, and be well!)" The hieratic group which follows and which fortunately is almost completely preserved in both texts seems to be the "hand"-sign, as in the verb (*w*)*dī* (Möll. *Pal.* i, No. 114), with the quail-chick (*Ibid.* No. 200) written under it. We would appear, then, to have, as we might expect after *mk nsw* . . . , an old perfective in *-w*, either of (*w*)*dī*, "put," or possibly of *dī*, "give," "place," which is occasionally written with the hand-sign (D 46) in place of the arm-with-loaf sign (D 37: Gard. *Egn. Gr.* §§ 289, 290). The rest of the formula is not preserved in B and is atrociously written in C. Toward the end, however, the words *ib·k*, "your heart," emerge with relative clarity, and this suggests that we have here some variant of the *swdj·ib* formula so common at the beginning and end of Middle Kingdom letters. Though the reading *wdjw* for the groups preceding *ib·k* is hardly more than a guess, we may perhaps have here an expression similar to *rdi(t) wdj(w)·ib n N.*, "causing the heart of N. to be easy," "causing N. to be informed," which occasionally, both in the Middle and New Kingdoms, replaces the more common *swdj ib n N.*³¹² Assuming the old perfective *dw* to be either a writing of *dīw* or, if a part of the verb *wdī*, the equivalent in meaning of *dīw*, we read in C, Line 8: *mk nsw . . . dw wdjw ib·k*, "Behold, the king . . . causes the easing of your heart," "Behold, the king . . . informs (or communicates with) you." The hieratic remains at the very end of the line suggest the reading *m mītt*, and, while this phrase normally means "likewise," "also," it occasionally (as here?) "seems to have the vaguer meaning of 'accordingly.'" ³¹³

Turning now to the content and significance of the petitions and the king's instructions concerning them we run immediately, in Insertion B, Line 8, into several tantalizingly fragmentary groups, the readings of which are most uncertain. After *r dd* . . . , "saying . . .," in Line 8 there is a *k*-high up in the line (suggesting *k[ī]*) and, after it, a *w* ligatured with some sign below, probably a *t* (Möll. *Pal.* i, No. III, "Bulaq 18" ff.). Since this is the beginning of a petition concerning an official who has made himself sufficiently objectionable for the king (in Line 14) to order his arrest, it seems not unreasonable to restore here *k[ī]w[t]*, "complaint," "proscription,"³¹⁴ or, perhaps better, "warrant," "indictment." What comes next, after the

312. *P. Kah.* 22, 5 and 29, 42 (see pp. 56, 68, 72); *Peas.* B 1, 36; *Urk.* iv, 138. On the verbs *wdī* and *rdī* see Erman, *Sitz. Berl. Ak.* 1912, 914.

313. Pflüger, *JNES.* 5, 262 n. 1.

314. See the late writing *kwt* of *kī*, "proscription," *Wb.* v, 110 (1); the writing *kīy* of the verb *kī*, "complain," *Ibid.* 109 (10-12); and the verb *kī*, "complain," *P. Kah.* 13, 36 (p. 37).

lacuna, may be the tail of an abbreviated hieratic *m* (Möll. *Pal.* i, No. 196 B) and the "scribe"-sign (*Ibid.* No. 537) followed by plural strokes (*Ibid.* No. 561). This, though palaeographically unconvincing, results in the extremely common phrase *m sš*, "in writing," "written,"³¹⁵ and in the plausible reading *k[ɜ]w[t] m sš*, "a complaint in writing," "a written indictment." The pseudo-verbal construction with the old perfective (*irw*) is not normally used in exhortations, but, in view of what follows, it is difficult to see how the opening clause of our petition can be anything else. The expression *m imt hs(w)t nsw*, "by grace (of) the king's favor" (Lines 8-9), though damaged, is legible and more or less self-explanatory. For the preposition *m* (Line 9) with the meaning "against" see Gard. *Egn. Gr.* § 162, 9; Vog. *Bauer.* 114; and for the use in these texts of the less cursive form of the "owl"-sign (Möll. *Pal.* i, No. 196) see Insertion C, Lines 3 and 7. Pay's title (Line 9) and his probable association, as a minor official, with the Great Prison have already been discussed.

For *tkkw* (Line 10) and *pɜ tkk* (Line 12) we have a choice of translations. Though the first meaning of the verb *tkk* (*Wb.* v, 336 [2-10]) is to "attack," it can also, when used as here with *m*, mean to "seize wrongfully" (*Ibid.* [9]). Since there is no way of determining whether Pay assaulted or illegally appropriated the fugitive(?) Se'ankhu,³¹⁶ it has seemed best to render *tkk* by some non-committal expression, such as "committed a violation (against)." *Tkkw* (Line 10) is apparently a perfective active participle used as a noun of agent, "he-who-violated," "violator" (cf. *thw*, "transgressor," Gard. *Egn. Gr.* § 359, p. 275);³¹⁷ while (*pɜ*) *tkk* (Line 12) is clearly a masculine noun meaning "violation," "attack," "illicit seizure." The hieratic signs in *w'rw(?)*, "fugitive" (Line 10), seem somewhat crowded together and the reading, though not improbable, is far from certain (see Plate V). I had formerly taken Se'ankhu to be the father of Pay and had read Lines 10-11 "he who committed a violation against the fugitive(s?), Se'ankhu[']s son], Pay, . . ."; but this is evidently not the way in which filiation is expressed in these texts (see B 7, C 4). Incidentally, the name *S'nhw*, though not listed by Ranke (*PN.*), occurs elsewhere in P. Berlin 10470, I, 4. 11 (*JEA.* 34, 32, pl. 7).

In these texts, as usually elsewhere, the word *hnw*, "the Residence," has as its determinative the "city"-sign (O 49), indicating that not merely the palace of the king is referred to, but the whole of the capital city and all the offices of the central administration, including, of course, that of the vizier.³¹⁸ Since, according to Insertion B, Lines 11 and 14-15, Pay, a Theban, had to be "brought to" the Residence city to be dealt with by the vizier and since in Insertion C, Lines 7-8, the plaintiff is described as "he who is in the Residence city" and the defendant as "he who is in

315. *Wb.* iii, 478, E (Belegst. 6-17).

316. From Insertion C, Line 6, we might guess that the latter was the case.

317. Budge, *Dictionary*, 845 B (top).

318. See *Wb.* iii, 370 (5-14); Gard. *Sin.* 24. 59. 88. 127; *Adm.* 7, 4. 6; 10, 6. 8. 11; etc.

the Southern City (Thebes)," it is clear that at the time these decrees were issued the Residence city was not Thebes, but, presumably, still It-towy, near Lisht.³¹⁹

The verb *wšd*, "question," is apparently used in Insertion B, Line 12, in its technical sense of "interrogate formally," "examine legally" (*Wb.* i, 375 (13); Gardiner, *Rec.* 26, 5). Another evidently technical term, *m sšw* [*sw?*] (B, Line 14), literally "in guarding [him?]," probably corresponds very closely to our formal expression "under arrest." Among the references given by *Wb.* (iii, 416-7) to this and similar uses of *sšw* special interest attaches to the term *rmš-sšw* used in the New Kingdom tomb-robbery papyri of persons "taken into custody," or "arrested."³²⁰

In spite of the difficulties and uncertainties noted, the general purport and purpose of Insertion B are clear enough. The king has been petitioned by a Theban official, named Yebiy'au, to inquire into the case of another Theban, named Pay, who seems to have held some sort of official position associated with "prisoners" and who is charged with having violated his trust in connection with one of the unfortunates under his supervision. It is requested that a warrant(?) be issued for Pay's arrest and that he be taken from Thebes to the Residence (at It-towy ?), there to be formally "questioned" regarding his "violation." In his decree, dated to the [fifth(?)] year of his reign, the king, after indicating his agreement with the petition, instructs his vizier, 'Ankhu, to have the accused man brought to the Residence city under arrest and prosecuted for his misdeed. If it does nothing else this decree tends to provide confirmation from the highest government authority on Pay's status as a criminal or, at least, as a wrongdoer.³²¹ It must have been primarily for this reason that a copy of the decree was sent to the town-clerk's office at Thebes, and precisely for this reason that it was copied again, into our present papyrus, which from here on seems to deal with the confiscation and redistribution of Pay's servants.

The petition of Insertion C (Lines 5-6) opens with a word which is apparently to be read *mš(w)* and seems to have as its determinative the seated-man (A 1) over plural strokes (Plate VI). In translating this word as "insolent ones" I have taken it to be a plural noun derived from the verb *mš*, "flout" (?), "insult" (?), which occurs, so far as I know, only once in Egyptian literature, in the Story of Sinuhe.³²² The term in our text would appear to be applied to arrogant government officials who were seizing (for corvée ?) the petitioner's servants. Following this rather doubtful reading we have fairly clear remains of the words *m pr* and then a small lacuna, which suggests the restoration *m pr[·ī]*, "in [my] house," and the rendering "Insolent

319. See *JNES.* 12, 33-8.

320. Pap. Amherst, 4, 2-3 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, p. 49, pl. 5); Pap. Mayer A, 4, 24 (Peet, *The Mayer Papyri*). See Spiegelberg, *Studien*, 91; Faulkner, *JEA.* 24, 48.

321. There can be little doubt that in dynastic Egypt malfesance in office, of which Pay seems to have been guilty, was regarded as a serious crime.

322. *Sin.* B 109; Gard. *Sin.* 44; *Wb.* ii, 175 (8).

ones(?) (are) in [my] house" for the opening clause of the petition. As frequently elsewhere, *pr* probably refers to the petitioner's personal "estate" or official "domain," rather than to his house in the more restricted sense.³²³ The second clause, introduced by the preposition *m*, contains the words *rmṯ n ḥnw(·i)*, "people of (my) home,"³²⁴ and, shortly thereafter, the preposition *r*, "to," followed by a place-name. It would seem that what is needed after the initial *m* is the infinitive of a verb meaning to "take," "carry," or the like; and, though the infinitive *ḏt* of the verb *ḏḏ*, "ferry across," "transport,"³²⁵ does not suit the hieratic as well as one could wish, it provides a plausible (and palaeographically possible) reading. On the expression *m ṯwt*, "by seizure," "with a seizing," see Gardiner, *JEA*. 38, 30, and Cerný, *JEA*. 23, 186-9. I had once taken *ṯwt* to be the word for "theft"³²⁶ and had translated the phrase "by stealth"; but [Ḥaṣankhef(?)]'s relatively mild reaction to the taking away of his people suggests that the seizure, though inconsiderate, was legal. In the place-name *ḏt-sḥtyw(?)* the hieratic form of the *ḏt*-sign (N 30) finds a parallel in the Ramesseum Onomasticon (*AEO*. pl. 2, No. 196), a document approximately contemporary to Insertion C; but Möller records no hieratic example of this sign earlier in date than the XXIst Dynasty (*Pal*. ii, No. 326 bis). The place itself — "the Mound of the Peasants" (?) — appears to be otherwise unknown,³²⁷ and was probably an unimportant or out-of-the-way locality, not necessarily in the neighborhood of Thebes. It may have been the site of a labor-camp or public work project, but this of course is pure speculation.

Having drawn the king's attention to the losses which he has suffered in his household, [Ḥaṣankhef(?)] in Line 6 makes his request. *Rdī n·i* is without much doubt a passive *sdm·f* followed by a dative: "there are given to me . . .," or better (since this is a request), "let there be given to me . . ." The position of the adverbial phrase *m ḥḏ n dd-rmṯ* between the verb and its direct semantic object [*hn*]mw is altogether logical (see Gard. *Egn. Gr.* § 507, 2). Indeed, it is difficult to see where else in the sentence this phrase could reasonably be placed. In view of what we have already learned of the nature and functions of the *ḥḏ n dd-rmṯ*, "the Office of the Provider-of-people" (see above, Chap. II, 4), it is not surprising to find the erstwhile household of the criminal Pay temporarily in the custody or under the jurisdiction of this institution. The plural noun *ḥnmw*, literally "associates," has a fairly wide

323. See *JNES*. 10, 97 n. 171, and the references given there. On *pr* with the meaning of "nome" see Vand. *Mo.* 228.

324. Aside from the difference in determinatives there is a striking and possibly intentional difference in the hieratic writing of *ḥnw*, "home" (Line 5), and *ḥnw*, "the Residence" (Line 7).

325. *Wb.* v, 511-3, 515.

326. Gard. *Egn. Gr.* p. 601; Budge, *Dictionary*, 849 B; see *Wb.* v, 350.

327. The damaged place-name of On. Ram. No. 196 is probably to be restored as *ḏt-[ngnw]* (*AEO*. ii, pp. 12*, 263*; Vand. *Mo.* 25. 221; Nims, *JEA*. 38, 40).

range of meanings.³²⁸ Although I have retained the common and generally accepted translation "housemates," or "members of (one's) household," the word as it is used both here and in Text B of the *verso* (Line 27) clearly refers, not to the families, but specifically and exclusively to the "household servants" of the persons involved. The second time our scribe wrote the word *hnmw* in the present text (Line 6, end) he reversed the order of the *m* and *w* and added a seated-woman (B 1) to the determinatives. Subsequently he (or another scribe) appears to have crossed out the misplaced *m* and the "woman"-sign and appended the words *hrw·fy sw*, "so he said," to the end of the line. The puzzling hieratic group which follows the name *Pꜣy* seems to read *n(y) wꜣw* and to be an epithet meaning literally "of separatings," or — by analogy with the expression *wꜣ n rn·f* — "of cursings."³²⁹ This epithet, which is explained in part at least by the "violation" attributed to Pay in Insertion B, would appear to establish him quite definitely as an anathematized criminal without identity and, presumably, without property rights. The somewhat elaborate construction *m rdꜣt dꜣ·tw n·i*, "in causing that one give (them) to me," was a favorite with the ancient Egyptians³³⁰ and the expression *dꜣ . . . r . . .*, "give" someone "as" such-and-such, "put" someone "to be" such-and-such, is, of course, even more common.³³¹ The sense seems to require our supplying a pronominal object, "(them)," after *dꜣ·tw*; but the supplied suffix (*·i*), "(my)," after *hnmw* can easily be omitted and *r hnmw* translated simply "to be household servants."

The opening and concluding formulae employed by the king in Lines 7-8 have already been discussed. We find that, aside from these, his instructions concerning the two men involved ([*Hꜣꜣankhef(?)*] and Pay) consist of two orders couched in parallel phrases: "Let him who is in the Residence come(?). Then shall you," "Let him who is in the Southern City come(?). Then shall you" A major difficulty lies, of course, in the reading of the damaged word which in each case precedes the relative adjective *nty* and which I have taken — more or less perforce — to be a part of one of the two common verbs meaning "come," *ꜣꜣ* or *ꜣw*. By analogy with entries 64 e ff. of our main texts (see Chap. II, 5) the simple reed-leaf (M 17) with which the word begins may be thought of as standing here for the reed-leaf-on-legs (M 18), in which case we have a part of the verb *ꜣꜣ*. On the other hand, there are examples from both the Old Kingdom and later periods in which the verb *ꜣw*, "come," is written, as apparently here, with an initial reed-leaf followed by *w* and the walking-legs (D 54) (see Budge, *Dictionary*, 31 A; and above, note 239). It is assumed that at the end of Line 7, as in the "d" entries of the main texts (Chap. II,

328. *Wb.* iii, 381 (5-7); *Gard. Egn. Gr.* p. 587; Budge, *Dictionary*, 577 B; *P. Kah.* 12, 5 (pp. 32-3); *Adm.* 4, 8; *Urk.* iv, 8. 1183.

329. See above, Chapter II, 4, and footnote 229.

330. *Peas.* B 1, 83; *Westc.* 4, 14; 5, 11; etc.

331. *Gard. Egn. Gr.* §§ 84; 122, end; 163, 4; 332; 450, 1; Exercise XXVIII (b) (3). See *Urk.* iv, 4.

4 and footnote 115), the verb *rwf* is used with its common meaning of "issue (an order)," and that the vizier is here instructed by the king to "have (an order) issued" (*ih dī·k rw·tw*) [concerning ?] either the people whom [*Hārankhef(?)*] has had taken from him or those whom he has requested as replacements for them. It is possible that *ih dī·k rw·tw . . . irw* means simply "then you shall cause his people to be delivered [to him?]." This interpretation, which seems somewhat less likely than the one adopted, would not, in any case, seriously alter the intent of the king's instructions. On *irw*, or *iryw*, "associates," "people belonging to," written both with and without the "seated-man" determinative (A 1), see *Wb. i*, 105 (5); Budge, *Dictionary*, 69 B; and von Bergmann, *Hierat. Texts*, pl. III.

Reviewing rapidly the contents of Insertion C, we note that the petition in this case was brought by a son of [*Yebiy*]^c au (the petitioner of Insertion B?) whose titles have led us to identify him tentatively with the Overseer of Fields, *Hārankhef*, listed in Papyrus Bulak 18. This man held an active and important position in the administration of the state farmlands near Thebes and of the various classes of working people employed on these lands, and in the latter capacity must have come into close and frequent contact with the Great Prison, its staff, and its inmates. In his petition [*Hārankhef(?)*] first states with some resentment that his household servants are being carried off "by seizure," and then requests that (by way of compensation?) the Office of the Provider-of-People turn over to him the household servants of "the accursed" Pay, whose criminal status has previously been established in Insertion B. Referring to [*Hārankhef(?)*] as "he who is in the Residence," the king accedes to his petition and instructs the Vizier *ʿAnkhu* to have an order issued concerning the people in whom he is interested. The fact that in the last line of his decree the pharaoh once more orders the vizier to "take action against" Pay ("he who is in the Southern City") suggests either that the exactly similar order given in Insertion B was not carried out or that Pay has now been charged with a second, and perhaps more serious, offense.

An association between Insertions B and C of the *recto* and the almost exactly contemporary list of servants and other texts on the *verso* of our papyrus is, as we shall see shortly, not at all difficult to visualize. Far more baffling is the question of a possible relationship between this whole series of XIIIth Dynasty additions and the original, XIIth Dynasty contents of the papyrus — "the criminal register which is in the Great Prison." So far we have established nothing beyond the probability that at least two of the officials named in Insertions B and C had associations with and access to the Great Prison and that one of them, Pay, had responsibilities connected with "prisoners" and perhaps "fugitives." Since the problem concerns the continuity of the papyrus as a whole, any attempt to solve it had, in any case, better be deferred until the balance of the texts have been examined.

IV. THE LIST OF SERVANTS ON THE *VERSO*

Lines 1-95 (Plates VIII-XIII)

Having seen that the last text written on the *recto* of the Brooklyn papyrus was a copy of a royal decree authorizing the transfer to a new owner of a group of confiscated household servants (*ḥnmw*) it is not surprising to find the greater part of the *verso* of the papyrus taken up with a list of just such servants. This list, as we have already had occasion to note (Chap. I, 2) contained, when complete, ninety-five lines, seventy-eight of which are still preserved in whole or in part. Each complete line is made up of four entries: a) the "title" and name of a male or female servant or of a child of one of the latter; b) the "given" name assigned the servant (by his master ?) or a notation indicating that no such additional name was deemed necessary; c) the trade or occupation of the servant; and d) the designation "man," "woman," "(male) child," or "(female) child."

Though it involves distributing the treatment of each line over four sections of this chapter, the contents of the list, like that of the *recto*, is more briefly and advantageously dealt with by "entries" than by whole lines.

1. THE "a" ENTRIES

Taking, then, only the righthand, or "a"-, column of each successive section of the list we read in order:

- (Plate VIII)
1. The king's servant, the son of Renessonbe (*Rn·s-snb*),
ʿAnkhu (*ʿnhw*)
 2. The female servant, the daughter of Iy (*ʿIy*), Satgemini
(*Sṯt-Gmn(·i)*)
 3. Her daughter, Rensonbe (*Rn-snb*)
 4. The king's servant, the son of Yūsni (*ʿIw·s-n·i*), ʿAsha (*ʿšṯ*)
 5. (The king's servant),³³² the son of Iy, Ibu (*ʿIbw*)
 6. The Asiatic, Senebressonbe (*Snb-Rs-snb*)
 7. The female Asiatic, Reḥwy (*Rḥ-wy*)
 8. Her son, the son of Nefu (*Nfw*), Ressonbe (*Rs-snb*)
 9. The Asia[ti]c ʿA]pra-Rašpu (*[ʿ]p-r-Ršpw*)
 10. 10 The female Asiatic, Hay'immī (?) (*Hṯlmmi*)
 11. The female Asiatic, Munahḥima (*Mnhm*)

332. By indenting Line 5 the scribe has indicated that the title *ḥm-nsw* of Line 4 is to be understood here also. The same device is employed in Lines 13-16.

12. The Asiatic, Su...i (*Sw...i*)
 13. The female Asiatic, Sakratu (*Sk-r-tw*)
 14. " " " 'Immīskru (*'Immī-sk-rw*)
 15. " " " 'Aduttu (*'Idwtw*)
 16. " " " Sakratu
 (Plate IX) 17. The female Asiatic, 'Ahāti-mil(katu)(?) (*ʿh-t-m-r*)
 18. The Asiatic, *Dôdī-hu'at(u) (*Tw-t-wīt*)
 19. The Asiatic, Qu'a... (*Kwī...*)
 20. [2]0 The king's servant, [the son of] Iywy (*'Iī-wy,*)
 21. The female Asiatic, Šiprah(?) (*Šp-r*)
 22. The female Asiatic, *Sukrap(a)ti (*Sk-r-wp[w]ty*)
 23. The female Asiatic, 'Ašra(?) (*'Iš-r*)
 24. Her daughter, Senebtisy (*Snb-tīsy*)
 25. The female Asiatic, ʿAn[at]'a(?) (*ʿn-[t-]i*)
 26. The female Asiatic, Šamaštu(?) (*Šmš-tw*)
 27. The Asiatic, Iʿsibtu (*'Iʿsbtw*)
 28. The female servant, the daughter of Wewi (*Wwī*), Ir(y)et (*'Ir(y)t*)
 29. The [female] Asia[ti]c, .ʔ. 'a'hu'atu (.ʔ. *iī-hītw*)
 30. 30 Her daughter, Ded(et?)mūt(?)... (*Dd(tʔ)-Mwt(ʔ)...*)
 31. Her son, ʿAnkhseneb (*ʿnh-snb*)
 32. The [female] Asiatic, ʿAhā[ti]... (*ʿh[-t]...*)
 (Plate X) 33. The female Asiatic, 'Aduna' (*'Itni*)
 34. Her son, ʿAnkhu
 35. The female Asiatic, Baʿaltūya (*Bʿtwy*)
 36. Her daughter, Senebtisy
 37. The female Asiatic ʿAqabaʿ (*ʿqbī*)
 38. The [female serv]ant, the daughter of Senʿaʿayeb (*Snʿ-ib*),
 Rensonbe
 39. Her [daughter], Henwetipu (*Hnwt-ī-pw*)
 40. [40 The female servant], the daughter of Henwetipu, Sennūt (*Sn-nwt*)
 41. [The king's servant], Yebiʿankhe (*'Ib(·ī)-ʿnh*)
 42. [The king's servant], ...-heswet (...-*hs(w)t*)
 43. [The king's servant], the son(?) of ...-y (...-y), Hotep(?) (*Htpʔ*)
 43b. (The female servant), Reyet (*Ryt*)
 44. [Her son],
 45.i (.....i)
 46. The king's servant,

47. The female Asiatic,
 (Plate XI) 48. The female servant, the daughter of Henwetipu, . . .-sni
 (. . .s-n·i)
 49. Her son
 50. 50 The king's servant, Ressonbe
 51. The Asiatic, 'Amu-. . . ('*mw*-. . .)
 52. The female Asiatic, R. . . (*R*-. . .)
 53. The king's servant, Ir. . . ('*Ir*-. . .)
 54. The female servant,
 55. The female Asiatic, 'Ak. . . ('*k*-. . .)
 56. [The female Asi]atic,
 57. Her daughter, Hu. . . (*Hw*-. . .)
 58. Her son, 'Ankhu
 59. The female Asiatic, 'Anat-. . . ('*n-t*-. . .)
 60. 60 The female servant, Iyti ('*Ii*·*ti*)
 61. The female Asiatic, Royenet (*R-i**nt*)
 62. The female Asiatic, 'Ayya'abi-'ilu(?) (*Hylbrw*)
 63. Her son, 'Abu-. . .m ('*Ibi*-. . .*m*)
 (Plate XII) 64. [The female Asiatic], . . .-Ba'al (. . .-*ib**al*)
 65. [The female servant?], [Wadjet]hau ([*Wɜdt*]-*hɜw*)
 66. Her son, [Re]ssonbe
 67. The female Asiatic, Sakar (*Sk-r*)
 68. The king's servant, Ressonbe
 69. The female Asiatic, *Tn*^{*tr*}*ti*^{*i*}
 70. 70 The female servant, Hetepet (*Htpt*)
 71. Her son 'Ankhu
 72. The king's servant, Resson[be]
 73-74.
 75. [The female servant], Henwe[t]ip[u]
 76-79.
 (Plate XIII) 80. [80?] The female Asiatic, *Hay'ôr (*Hylwr*)
 81. The king's servant, Nefruhotpe (*Nfrw-htp*)
 82. The female servant, the daughter of Yuy ('*Iwy*), Mer-. . .
 (*Mr*-. . .)
 83-84.
 85. [The king's servant, Ye]bi ([*'I*]*bi*)
 86. [The king's servant], Nefuem^{*ant*}tyu (*Nfrw-m-ant**yw*)
 87. [The] female [Asi]atic, 'Aqabtu ('*kbtw*)
 88. [The female Asiatic], *Tn*^{*tr*}*ti*^{*i*}
 89-95.

Checking over the list we find that of the seventy-nine servants³³³ whose names and/or "titles" are wholly or partially preserved thirty-three were Egyptians, forty-five were Asiatics, and one (Line 45) was of undetermined nationality. Only twenty of these servants were men (fifteen Egyptians, five Asiatics), as against forty-three women (twelve Egyptians, thirty-one Asiatics), eight boy-children (four Egyptians, four Asiatics), and six girl-children (two Egyptians, four Asiatics). The children, who appear throughout to have been too young to work,³³⁴ are always listed immediately after their mothers, Egyptian or Asiatic, as "her son" or "her daughter" (cf. Erman, *Literature*, 46 n. 3).

The Egyptians³³⁵

Of the thirty-three servants whose names and titles show that they were native Egyptians the fifteen men are (or were) each described as a "king's servant," *hm-nsw*, while each of the twelve women is called simply a "female servant," *hmt*. It is perfectly clear that in this list, as in other documents of the Middle Kingdom, the terms are used as the male and female counterparts of one another, *hm-nsw* being for all practical purposes the equivalent of simple *hm*.³³⁶ These people, as we shall see,³³⁷ were undoubtedly slaves; but since the institution of slavery in the strict sense has not been positively established for the periods before the New Kingdom³³⁸ it has seemed best, for the time being at least, to translate *hm* and *hmt* by the noncommittal "servant" and "female servant," or "maidservant."

The title *hm-nsw*, "king's servant," "royal slave(?)," has been well understood by Baillet (*Rec.* 27, 194 ff.) who rightly describes the functions of those who bore it as "vulgaires et serviles." From the menial nature of the tasks performed by *hm(w)-nsw* in the tomb reliefs of Khunes at Zawiyet el Meitin,³³⁹ in the tomb paintings of Sobknakhte at el Kab (*Sebekn.* pl. 4), and on a number of Middle Kingdom stelae³⁴⁰ it is clear that they were ordinary servants, or household slaves, and not "king's deputies" as supposed by Petrie (*Tombs of the Courtiers*, 10) and Bakir (*Slavery in Pharaonic Egypt*, 30, 34). The same monuments make it equally evident that the element *-nsw* does not, as Baillet (*Loc. cit.*) suggests, imply that such people were

333. Including *Ryt* of Line 43 b.

334. This is clear from the conspicuous absence of "c"-entries after their names. No. 49 appears to have been as yet unnamed.

335. Lines 1-5, 20, 28, 38-44, 46, 48-50, 53, 54, 60, 65, 66, 68, 70-72, 75, 81, 82, 85, and 86 a; and 43 b.

336. See Petrie, *Tombs of the Courtiers*, pls. 22-24; Munich 4.

337. Below, Chapter VI, 2.

338. Bakir, *Slavery in Pharaonic Egypt* (*Ann. Suppl. Cahier No. 18. Cairo, 1952*), 124; Harari, *Contribution*, x n. 1; Seidl, *Einführung*, 42; Gardiner, *AZ.* 43, 43; Černý, *Bull.* 41, 117.

339. *L.D.* ii, 187; *Text.* ii, pp. 58-9; Smith, *History of Egyptian Sculpture*, pp. 215-6, 218.

340. See above, note 336.

maintained by the kings for their own service; but show, rather, that *hm(w)-nsw* could be, and frequently were, attached to the households of provincial officials and other non-royal persons. We may suppose that "king's servants" were simply persons (or descendants of persons) who had been reduced to the status of servants, or slaves(?), by authority of the pharaonic government; and, since royal authority would presumably always be needed to effect such a change in status, we return inevitably to our initial feeling that in the Middle Kingdom *hm-nsw* and simple *hm* were practically interchangeable terms, with the former, incidentally, being used at this period much more frequently than the latter.³⁴¹ Any doubt regarding the low social status of the "king's servants" in later times is dispelled by Papyrus Hood, 17, where we find an Overseer (*imy-r*) of *hm-nsw* grouped together with an Overseer of Cattle and an Overseer of Horses.³⁴² Enlightening references to *hm(w)-nsw* are contained in two letters of the late XIIth Dynasty from el Lahūn. The writer of one letter (*P. Kah.* 34, 18 ff.) reports that he has found "the king's servant, Sobkemhēb," who had run away (*w'r*), that he has turned him over to the Prison of Trial (*hnrt n sdm*), and that he (presumably the *hm-nsw*) is to be put to death in the Office of the Reporter (*h' n whmw*). In the other letter (*P. Kah.* 35, 11-13) the addressee is informed about the instruction of "your king's-servant, Wadjhau, in causing him (to learn) to write and not allowing him to run away (*bt*)." Though it becomes increasingly clear that our term "slave" can justifiably be applied to this class of person, it is worth noting that in the Middle Kingdom tomb-scenes and stelae mentioned above *hm(w)-nsw* and *hm(w)t* are frequently represented with the tomb-owners' sons and daughters, as if they too were regarded more or less as "members of the family" (e.g., Louvre C.170). Something of the sort seems also to be embodied in the term *hnmw*, "associates," "household-members," used apparently of these people and their Asiatic companions in Insertion C of the *recto*, Line 6 (cf. *verso*, Text B, Line 27). Glancing ahead at the "c" columns of the present list we find that five of our "king's servants" were employed as fieldhands (*ihwty*: Lines 4, 5, 41, 42, 72), three as house-servants (*hry-pr*: Lines 1, 20, 68), and one as a cobbler (*tbw*: Line 46). The occupations of the Egyptian female servants (*hmt*) included "hairstresser" (*nšt*: Line 2), "gardener" (*kirt*: Lines 38, 43 b), "weaver" (*sh't(yt)*: Line 60), "warper" (? : Lines 65, 70), and "reciter" (?) (*p'rt nt r·s*: Line 40). Of these occupations only that of house-servant and those of weaver and warper(?) were shared by Egyptians and Asiatics alike. While *hmt*, as we have seen, appears to have been the usual feminine counterpart of *hm-nsw*, Baillet (*Loc. cit.*) has found in Tomb 85 at Thebes (Dyn. XVIII) an example of the title *hmt-nsw*, "king's maidservant."³⁴³

The names of these servants, their parents, and their children are almost without

341. Bakir (*Slavery*, 34) has noted that *hm* alone is "rarely met with" in the Middle Kingdom.

342. Maspero, *Études égyptiennes*, ii, pp. 8, 39, pl. 2.

343. See Virey, *Mém. Miss. arch. fr. . . . Caire*, v, p. 236.

exception common Middle Kingdom names of simple and unpretentious types, containing no religious or geographical allusions — in short, precisely the kind of names we should expect to find borne by slaves (cf. Bakir, *Slavery*, 104-6). Particularly striking is the complete absence of theophorous names, which in lists of free citizens normally outnumber all other types.³⁴⁴ Names like the oft-repeated *Hnwt-(·i)-pw*, "It-is-(my-)mistress," seem made to order for ladies' maids; and some of the more common masculine names (*ṛnhw*, *Rs-snb*) are among those selected as appellations for the Asiatic servants and their children (Columns "a" and "b" *passim*). *ṛš* (Line 4), *Sn-nwt* (40), and *Nfrw-ḥtp* (81) are not listed in Ranke's *Personennamen*; while *'Ii-wy* (20) and the somewhat doubtfully transliterated *Nfw(?)·m-ṛntyw* (86), though known (*PN*. i, 8 (19) [add Ermitage 1064] and 193 (12)), are rare. Of the incomplete names No. 65 is almost certainly to be restored as [*Wḏt*]-*hṛw* (*PN*. i, 75 (6)) and No. 42 probably as [*ṛnhw-m-*]*ḥs(w)t* (see Line 18 b). In general, the consistently colorless and undistinguished nature of their names suggests that these people and their parents were born servants and had inherited their state of servitude in each case from a, perhaps remote, ancestor.

The Asiatics³⁴⁵

Interspersed in the list with the Egyptian servants and outnumbering them by about four to three are men and women whose names, as we have seen, are preceded by the designations *ṛmw*, "Asiatic," and *ṛmt*, "female Asiatic." Since the non-Egyptian names borne by some thirty of these people have been recognized by Professor William Albright³⁴⁶ as of "Northwest Semitic" types it is probable that, as nearly always in texts of the Middle and New Kingdoms, the words *ṛmw* and *ṛmt* refer here specifically to Semites from Syria or Palestine.³⁴⁷ The secondary meanings "syrischer Sklave" and "syrische Sklavin" given by *Wb.* (i, 167(21), 168(2)) for the two words

344. See above, Chapter II, 1.

345. Lines 6-19, 21-27, 29-37, 47, 51, 52, 55-67, 69-71, 80, 87, 88.

346. See below; and above, Chapter I, 1.

347. *Sin*. B 141, 265; *Sebekkhu* 4; Pap. Leningrad 1116 A, *recto*, 91. 97 (Gardiner, *JEA*. 1, 30-31); *Urk.* iv, 615. 743; Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, I 2, § 304 (p. 315); Montet, *Drame d'Avaris*, 16-18, 20-26, 43, 72, 210; etc. On *ṛmw* in general and other Egyptian expressions for "Asiatics" see especially Müller, *Asien und Europa*, Chap. VIII (pp. 121-28). In the Old Kingdom we find the term used of the Bedawin (*ḥryw-šr*) of Sinai and the Eastern Desert (*Urk.* i, 101(9). 134(16)). See Müller, *Op. cit.*, 129; and Blackman, *Meir* ii, p. 18 n. 1). Most interesting is the frequent use of the word *ṛmw* to refer to the Hyksos, whose rise to power in the northeast Delta occurred only a few decades after our list was drawn up: see *T. Carn.* 3. 5. 10 (Gardiner, *JEA*. 3, 98-9. 103. 105); Speos Artemidos Inscr., Line 37 (Gardiner, *JEA*. 32, 48, pl. 6); Pap. Sallier I, 1-3 (Gunn & Gardiner, *JEA*. 5, 37. 40); Meyer, *Loc. cit.*; Stock, *Ägyptol. Forschungen*, 12, 65; etc.

find support in the present list, where the persons called *ʿim* and *ʿimt* were clearly the imported equivalents of the Egyptian *hm-nsw* and *hmt*. The same casual grouping-together of Egyptian and Asiatic servants is not infrequently found on tomb stelae and other documents of the Middle Kingdom and later periods.³⁴⁸ If anything, the Asiatics seem to have been more highly regarded and better treated than their Egyptian co-workers — a distinction stemming perhaps from the fact that as prisoners of war or descendants thereof (?) they belonged to a stratum of society superior to that of the Egyptians, most of whom were probably either the descendants of criminals or had themselves committed crimes of a more or less serious nature. In the "c" columns of our list, the occupations assigned to the Asiatics are for the most part of a skilled and not particularly onerous nature, while the dirty, backbreaking toil of the fieldhand (*ihwty*) and gardener (*kjrt*) was reserved for the Egyptians.

All eight of the Asiatic children³⁴⁹ and at least five of their elders³⁵⁰ have Egyptian names of the same simple, rather colorless types borne by the native Egyptian servants. *Snb-tisy* (24, 36) for girls and *ʿnhw* (34, 58) for boys are the most frequent, while two boys are named, respectively, *ʿnh-snb* (31) and *Rs-snb* (8) and the man of Line 6, *Snb-Rs-snb*. Three of the women's names, *Rh-wy* (7), *ʿk(w?)* (55), and *R-ʿnt* (61) are less common and rather more interesting.³⁵¹ One of the men (51) has an apparently Egyptian name compounded with the word *ʿmw*, "Asiatics."³⁵² The girl of Line 30 may have had a theophorous name, *Dd(t)-Mwt* . . . , "She-whom-(the-goddess-)Mūt-gives. . ." (PN. i, 403, 11), but the reading here is uncertain in the extreme (see Plate IX). The boy of Line 8 was apparently the son of an Egyptian father, *Nfw*, "the Skipper," and an Egyptianized Asiatic mother, *Rh-wy* of Line 7. The four other mothers (23, 29, 33, 35) have Semitic names presumably because, unlike their children and their younger compatriots, they were not born in Egypt.³⁵³

348. Cairo 20227, 20231, 20392; Louvre C. 18 (Boreux, *Bull.* 30, 45-8, pl. 3); Louvre C. 170 (Gayet, *Stèles*, pl. 28); *P. Kah.* 12, 10; 13, 15; 30, 35; Lieblein, *Dictionnaire*, No. 1778; Baillet, *Rec.* 28, 129. On the employment of *ʿmw* as servants see further Meir ii, pp. 15, 18 n. 1 (end); also iii, p. 13, pl. 4; Ranke, *PN.* ii, 86. 269 (21), and Leyd. *Denkm.* ii, No. 25, pl. 21 (the name *ʿm-n-ʿi*); Griffith, *JEA.* 13, 202 n. 4.
349. Four boys (Lines 8, 31, 34, 58) and four girls (Lines 24, 30, 36, 57).
350. Two men (Lines 6, 51) and three women (Lines 7, 55, 61). Perhaps also the two men of Lines 12 and 19 and the woman of Line 52.
351. Ranke, *PN.* i, 225 (18), 71 (30?), and 216 (16). *R-ʿnt* was the name of the grandmother of the redoubtable ʿAhmose, son of Ebana, of el Kab (*Urk.* iv, 2, 11).
352. Cf. the personal names *ʿim*, *ʿimt*, *ʿimt-ddt*, and *pj-ʿim* (*PN.* i, 59 (2-4), 102 (21); ii, 192-3), the last of which occurs in Line 58 b of the present list. *ʿim* as a personal name is common in the Middle Kingdom, being found, for example, in *P. Kah.* 14, 30, and *P. Boul.* xviii, 60 (Line 18: the name of an Elder of the Portal).
353. Examples are not numerous outside of the present list, but in Berlin P. 10021, Line 3 (Scharff, *AZ.* 59, 45-7, Sheet 9) we find listed an Asiatic (*ʿim*) with an Asiatic(?) name (*l-ʿrw*) followed by "his son," with the common Egyptian name, *Htpt* (*PN.* i, 260, 3).

In general we find that the majority of Asiatic servants (*ꜥm* and *ꜥmt*) mentioned in documents of the Middle Kingdom have Egyptian names.³⁵⁴

On the Semitic names Professor Albright has most kindly provided me with a condensation, prepared by Dr. T. O. Lambdin, of a journal article very soon to be released. In the following quotations from these notes I retain, of course, Albright's italicized transliterations of the names, which differ slightly from those given above in my running translation of the whole list; and here and there I have added foot-notes supplying references purposely omitted by Lambdin from the condensation:

9. *ꜥp-ra-Ršpw* (*ꜥApra-Rašpu*). (Masc.) This is a very valuable addition to our stock of some half dozen certain names beginning with *ꜥpr*. Any lingering doubt as to the character of the first element as a construct noun before the name of a god or land is now settled; it has nothing to do with the name of the people *ꜥApiru* — unless the latter is itself derived from an abbreviated name of this type, as is not impossible. We have a perfectly satisfactory etymology of the word, which I should derive from the Northwest-Semitic cognate of Accadian *epēru*, "to feed, foster, nourish" = Arab. *ꜥfr*; in Accadian we have parallel names in considerable numbers (e.g., *Sīn-ēpirī*, "Sin Fosters Me," *Šamaš-ēpirī*, etc.). In Egyptian texts we have from the New Kingdom *ꜥApr(a)'el*, "Fosterling of El"; *ꜥApr(a)ba'al*, "Fosterling of Baal"; *ꜥApr(a)d(a)gal*, "Fosterling of Dagal (= Dagan)."³⁵⁵ The Sethe texts yield *ꜥApru-hq*,³⁵⁶ while the Posener texts give us *ꜥApru-ꜥanu*, *ꜥApru-'as'apa'*, and three incomplete names.³⁵⁷

10. *Hꜥ'm'* (fem.) must be studied together with No. 62, *Hy'b'rw* (fem.). At first sight these two names seem quite inexplicable, but we have a good many parallels, complete or partial. In Syria XXVIII (1951), p. 32, Virolleaud has published the similar name *Hy'abn*, with which we may further compare the "Amorite" personal names *Ha-ia-ab-ilu*, *Ha-ia-ab-ni-ilu*, *Ha-ia-ab-ni-nu* (or *ilu*), *Ha-ia-bu-um*. Among the Northwest-Semitic names in the Mari documents we also find *Ha-â-ia-a-bu-um* twice. Among the 18th-century names in the Alalakh tablets we find *A-ia-bi*, *A-ia-bi-šar-ri*, and *A-ia-šarri*, while from 15th-century names from the same place we have *A-ia-bu*, *A-ia-hu*, and *A-ia-mu*. This *A-ia-bu* is evidently the Amarna *Ayab*, name of the prince

354. *P. Kah.* 13, 16; 14, 30; 24, 4-6; 30, 35; Louvre C. 18, 3 examples (*Bull.* 30, 45-8, pl. 3); Louvre C. 170 (Gayet, *Stèles*, pl. 28); Cairo 20227, 20231, and 20392; *P. Kah.* Berlin (Borchardt, *AZ.* 37, 98); Weill, *Rec.* 27, 44. See also *Urk.* iv, 11 (some of the servants named in this well-known list appear to have been Asiatics: Gunn & Gardiner, *JEA.* 5, 53; Posener, *Syria*, 18, 187).

355. Ranke, *PN.* i, 60 (14-18); Pap. Bologna 1094, 10, 3, and Pap. Anastasi III verso 6/8 (Spiegelberg, *Studien*, 36-7); Steindorff, *AZ.* 38, 16-17 (*verso*, Line 18); Sæve-Söderbergh, *Orientalia Suecana*, I (1952), pp. 6-7 n. 4.

356. *Ächt.* p. 49, e 11; *PN.* i, 60 (17).

357. Posener, *Princes et pays d'Asie et de Nubie* (Brussels, 1940), pp. 68, E 8 and E 12; 80-81, E 30, E 31, and E 32.

of Ashtaroth in Bashan (Hauran) in the early fourteenth century, and it is also the 'ybm ('Ayyâbum) of the Sethe Execration Texts,³⁵⁸ as I pointed out in 1928, when I identified the name with biblical "Job." The solution of the problem was brought indirectly by A. Goetze, who pointed out that the name *A-ia-a-ḥu-i* in a seal of the 18th century B.C. must mean "Where is My Brother?" like Accadian *Ali-aḥi*. Similarly, we may add, 'Ayya'abu(m) meant "Where is (My) Father?" and the form 'Ayyâbum, whence Hebrew 'Iyyôb, "Job," is simply the dissimilated and contracted form. The above mentioned *A-ia-mu* is similarly "Where is (My) Mother?" In the light of the Ugaritic parallel cited above, as well as probably of the four "Amorite" and the Mari names, all of which begin with *H* in the Accadian, we can say without hesitation that Nos. 10 and 62 on the Hayes List are dissimilated forms without contraction, where the first of two or three 'alephs in the same name is changed to *h*. *Hy'b'rw* may stand for *'Ayya'abi-'ilu, "Where is My Father, O God?" like Amorite *Hayabilu* above. No. 10 in the Hayes List, *Hî'm'*, stands probably for **Hy'm'*, *Hay'immî*, "Where is My Mother?"

11. *Mnḥm'* (fem.) is an abbreviated *Munahḥima'*, "(Such and Such a God) Shows Mercy." The name is *Menahḥem* in Hebrew and occurs twice as *Munah(h)imu* at Ugarit.

13. *Sk-ra-tw* must be studied together with Nos. 14 ('*mskrw*), 16 (also *Sk-ra-tw*), 22 (*Sk-ra'-pty*), 67 (*Sk-ra*). All these names are feminine and cannot be separated from the biblical Hebrew names **Yašaškir*, "Issachar," and *Šakar*. In South Arabian and Proto-Arabic we find derivatives of the stem *ŠKR*, which corresponds etymologically to Heb. *ŠKR* and early Northwest-Semitic *SKR* in all the dialects: e.g., *Yškr'l* (*Yaškur'il*) in Sabaean, Minaean, and Ḥaḍrami, other theophorous names *Salam-šakar* and *Šakar'il* in Thamudic and Safaitic. We also find, both in the south and in the north, the hypocoristica *Škr*, *Yškr* and *Mškr*, as well as the feminine *Škrt*. Although the stem *ŠKR* is generally rendered "to reward" where it appears in South-Arabian names, it is more likely that its ancient meaning was like that of Latin *gratus*, *gratia*, and derivatives, "favorable, favor," and related senses. The feminine *Skrt*, pronounced *Sakratu* or *Sukratu*, which occurs both in the Hayes List and in Libyanite, may mean something like "favorable, charming." To judge from the feminine names in Accadian such as *Ummi-Ištar*, *Ummi-Šamši*, etc., and the parallels in the Northwest-Semitic names from Alalakh (e.g., 18th-century *Ummu-Ḥepa*, "The Goddess Khepa is Mother," and 15th-century *Ummi-Ba'lat*, "The Goddess Ba'lat Is My Mother"), nearly all of which names contain the name of a deity (generally a goddess), No. 14 of the Hayes list must be explained somewhat differently. Since the second element of our name can scarcely be verb or adjective because of the nominative masculine ending, we probably have a goddess *Sukru*, like *Qudshu*, "Holiness" = *Asherah*. *Sukru* would presumably mean "Favor, Favorite" and would be an

358. *Ächt.* p. 46, e 4; *PN.* i, 8 (23).

appellation of some goddess. Just such an appellative seems to occur in a seal from the early centuries of the second millennium, published by Sidney Smith: *Šu-kur-i-li*, "The Deity S(h)ukur Is My God"; the sex of the deity is indeterminate. Our name, perhaps to be read *'Immīšukru*, would then mean "Sukru Is My Mother."

15. *'dwtw* can scarcely be anything but *'Aduttu*, "Lady." The alternative reading *'-ru-w-tw*³⁵⁹ would be quite inexplicable. The name may be either a hypocoristic or an appellative; the corresponding masculine *'Adōn* (for *'Adūnu!*) seems, however, to be always hypocoristic.

16. See No. 13.

17. *ḥ-ti-m-ra* (fem.). The same initial element also appears in No. 32, also the name of a woman. That it is Semitic *'ahātu*, "sister," follows from my identification of the name *ḥwm(w)t* in the Sethe and Posener series³⁶⁰ with **Aḥi(u)muti*. The latter texts also mention a prince of 'Apum named *'Aḥu-kabkabu*, whose name also appears in hieratic with an initial *ḥayin*.³⁶¹ These identifications are both certain, despite the wrong laryngal. Feminine names beginning with *'ahātu*, "sister," are common both in Accadian and in Northwest-Semitic. The hypocoristicon *'ahṭy* is also found in Ugaritic. The meaning of our No. 17 is obscure — unless it is an abbreviated form of *'Aḥāti-mil(katu)* = Phoenician *Ḥôt-milkôt*, "My Sister Is Queen." This would not be a hypocoristic formation, but an Egyptian shortening of a refractory Semitic name.

18. *Tw-ti-w't* (masc.) is **Dôdī-hu'at(u)*, "My Beloved is He." For the use of the emphatic pronoun of the third person in these names cf. No. 29, []*h'tw* = []*hi'atu* (fem.). For the masculine *hu'at* in tenth-century Phoenician see my discussion in *JAOS* 67 (1947), p. 156, n. 31, since when the same forms have been found to survive in Classical Hebrew as demonstrated by the Dead Sea Scroll Isaiah. The spelling *Tw-ti* for *Dôdī* is like *tu-hi-ra*, Egyptian transcription of Can. *dôher(a)*, "chariot-driver," *Tu-ta-y-na* for Can. *Dotayna*, and perhaps *Tu-tu* = *Dudu*. Our **Dôdī-hu'at* and the related **Dôda-hu'at* are preserved in biblical Hebrew onomastics as *Dôdīhu* and *Dôdô* (for **Dôdahu*).

21. *Šp-ra* (fem.) is an obvious hypocoristicon from a name beginning with the element *špr* (vocalization unknown) from the familiar Hebrew and Aramaic stem *ŠPR* meaning "to be fair, beautiful," Arab. *sfr*, "to shine." Our name is related to — perhaps even ultimately the same as — Aramaic *Šappīrah*, "Sapphira," and certainly the same (with slight morphological adaptation) as "Shiphrah," name of one of the two Hebrew midwives of Exodus 1: 15.

359. I had at one time transcribed the second sign in this name as the recumbent-lion (E 23: Möll. *Pal.* i, No. 125 "Sinuhe"); but *d* (D 46: Möll. *Pal.* i, No. 115) is also possible palaeographically and Albright's findings make it the more probable reading.

360. *Ächt.* e 29, f 19; Posener, *Op. cit.*, p. 78, E 26. Albright tells me that the name *ḥ-ti-m-t-f* (fem.) of *P. Kah.* 13, 15 (= *PN.* i, 71 [2]), "cannot be Semitic."

361. Posener, *Op. cit.*, p. 81, E 34.

22. See No. 13 above. This name, *Sk-ra-'pty*, can represent Semitic **Sukrap(a)ti* for **Sukra-yap(a)ti*, "The (Goddess) Sukur Is My Fair One." The elision of *Y* under such circumstances is very well illustrated by the cuneiform transcriptions of Northwest-Semitic personal names in this period. Heb. *yāpātī*, "my fair one," alternates with words meaning "my beloved."

23. *'š-ra* (fem.) is evidently a feminine hypocoristic of the same type as the masculine *'Ašer*, name of one of the twelve tribes of Israel and their ancestor. It is now certain that both names are derived from the stem which appears in Hebrew *'ošer*, "good fortune," *'ašrē* . . ., "happy, blessed," Arab. *'aysara*, "be prosperous," *yasār*, "propitious, left hand (euphemistic)," etc.

25. *ʿn[]* (fem.). This name and No. 59, *ʿn-ti*, are both feminine and are thus undoubtedly formed with the name of the goddess ʿAnat, like *'A-na-ti-um-me* (Virolleaud, *Syria* 28 [1951], p. 177), lit., "Anath is My Mother."

26. *Šmš-tw* (fem.) is probably again hypocoristic, derived from some such name as the feminine *Šapši-abī* (The Sun-god Is My Father), an 18th-century name from Alalakh. Whether the name was pronounced *Šamaštu*, *Šamšatu*, or *Šamšitu*, remains obscure.

27. *'csbtw* (masc.) is almost certainly *'isibtu*, the *nomen unitatis* of the collective noun **ʿisbu*, "herbage," which appears in Hebrew as *ʿēšeb*, in Aramaic as *ʿisbā*, in Arabic as *ʿusb*; the sibilant is correct and the transposed form *Iʿsibtu* is perfectly normal in Egyptian, where pretonic short vowels are often syncopated and replaced by a prothetic vowel before the initial consonant.

29. See No. 18. The first element of our name is not legible.

32. See No. 17, above.

33. *'Atn'* (fem.) = *'Aduna'* or the like.³⁶² This looks like a hypocoristicon with the ending *'aleph*.

35. *Bʿstwy* (fem.) is almost certainly *Baʿaltûya*, corresponding to the masculine hypocoristicon *Baʿalûya*. Together with the feminine name No. 64, *[]'bʿ*, *[]-Baʿal*, it appears to represent the earliest emergence of personal names formed with "Baal."

37. *ʿqb'*, *ʿAqba'* (fem.) and No. 87, *ʿqbtw* = *ʿAqabtu* (fem.) are typical hypocoristica of names derived from the stem *ʿQB* which are now known to have existed in early Northwest-Semitic.

59. See No. 25, above.

62. See No. 10, above.

63. *'b'[]m* (masc.) is the name of the son of No. 62; his name begins with the common Semitic element *'abu*, "father."

64. See No. 35.

362. A suggestion made by Albright in a letter dated August 31st, 1953. I had originally read the ligature in this name as *-rn-*, but *-tn-* is a better reading, and even *-dn-* is possible (see Möll. *Pal.* i, No. XLI "Sinuhe-Bulaq 18"; cf. No. XLVI).

67. See No. 13.

69. *Tnrt's'* must be considered together with No. 88, *Tntrt'*. Unfortunately neither name is quite certain, so any suggestions must remain somewhat speculative. Although the first two consonants can certainly reflect the name of the Sumero-Accadian moon-god Sîn, the obscurity of the two second elements warns against too hasty acceptance of such an identification.

80. *Hy'wr* (fem.) looks like a composite name, possibly theophorous. If our transcription is correct, it may reflect the elements *hayy*, "living," from *HWY*, "to live," and *'ôr*, "light," for the latter of which cf. Heb. *š'dē'ûr* for **šadday'ôr*, "Shaddai Shines," or the like. The first element of our name may apply to the god of fertility as "living," like Baal and Yahweh: "The Living One Shines," **Hay'ôr*.

87, 88. See Nos. 37, 69, respectively.

Albright has refrained from commenting on Nos. 12, 19, and 52, which are too fragmentary to allow any dependable conclusions to be drawn concerning them. We may note, however, that, since in all three cases Egyptian names are supplied in the corresponding entries in the "b" columns, there is considerable probability that these are all Asiatic names, and presumably Northwest-Semitic names like the others. By the same token this may also be true of Nos. 7 (*Rḥwy*) and 55 (*rk...*) which have been classified above — perhaps erroneously — as Egyptian names. Among Asiatic men's names preserved in Egyptian lists which, like our No. 12, begin with the syllable *Sw-* may be cited Steindorff, *ÄZ.* 38, 16-7, Line 13, and Posener, *Syria.* 18, pl. 30, Line 5. For *Kwi...* (No. 19) I have found no parallels, either Asiatic or Egyptian; and the possibilities of the initial *R...* of the feminine name of No. 52 are, of course, numerous.

Discussing the orthography of our Asiatic names Albright has noted, in a letter of March 3, 1953, that they "use W almost as much as do the Posener texts"; and that their "orthography would then be half way between that of the Posener texts and that of the 15th-century inscriptions." Having prepared (apropos of No. 62) "an analysis of the way in which Semitic R appears in these texts," he has further pointed out to me (in a letter of December 22, 1953) the following facts: "In the personal names of the Sethe series R appears in just 10% of the personal names of Semitic origin, as well as in just 10% of the place-names. In the Posener series the former figure has risen to about 31%, while the latter remains about the same — presumably because of the tendency toward historical spelling of place-names in the Egyptian Empire. In your lists we have R written in about (the figure is approximate because of breaks and uncertainties) 44% of all Semitic personal names. In your lists we have only two cases of *ṣ* used to transcribe Semitic R, and in both we are probably dealing with historical spelling of the common element *Baṣal*." The inference that the Brooklyn list might serve — orthographically at least — as a *terminus ante quem* for the Execration Texts is not without interest since, as we have already had occa-

sion to note (Chap. I, 2 & 3) it is securely dated to the first regnal year of King Sobkhotpe III (ca. 1743 B.C.).

To my queries regarding the possibility of determining from their names the country from which these people came and the tribe or group of tribes to which they may have belonged Albright has replied (Dec. 22, 1953): "I can't pin the names down ethnically or geographically any closer than to say that they are probably all Northwest-Semitic; at that time there is no clear indication from any source of important dialectal differences."

Perhaps the most surprising circumstance associated with these Asiatic servants is that an Upper Egyptian official of the mid-Thirteenth Dynasty should have had well over forty of them in his personal possession. If a comparable number of similar servants was to be found in every large Egyptian household one wonders by what means such quantities of Asiatic serving people found their way into Egypt at this time and how they chanced to be available as domestic servants for private citizens. The Semitic names borne by most of the adults of our group suggest that they, at least, were relatively recent importations. The ratio of women to men, which is here about three to one, might further suggest that they were the spoils of war taken during military campaigns or raids in which most of the local male population went down fighting. We know, however, of no large-scale Egyptian military operations in Western Asia at any time during the Middle Kingdom³⁶³ and certainly of none during the Thirteenth Dynasty. Prisoners taken in such raids would, in any case, become automatically the property of the crown, with only a few individuals being parceled out to private owners. We must, it would seem, postulate the existence at this time — as later, in the New Kingdom — of a brisk trade in Asiatic slaves carried on by the Asiatics themselves, with Egypt, still one of the richest nations in the Near East, providing the principal market for this class of merchandise. Genesis 37: 28 and 36, provides us with a somewhat unusual example of the type of transaction I had in mind: "Then there passed by Midianites merchantmen; and they drew and lifted up Joseph out of the pit, and sold Joseph to the Ishmeelites for twenty pieces of silver: and they brought Joseph into Egypt. And the Midianites sold him into Egypt unto Potiphar, an officer of Pharaoh's, and captain of the guard."

2. THE "b" ENTRIES

To make it easier for their masters to identify and address them the Asiatic men and women of our list who had retained the Semitic names bestowed upon them at birth were provided, in addition, with good Egyptian names; and it was chiefly to

363. See Bakir, *Slavery*, 113. Senwosret III's raid on Sekmem in Palestine netted Sobkkhu, the commander of his rearguard, one Asiatic prisoner (*Sebekkhu*).

record these given names that the "b" columns of the list were drawn up. The common formula *ḡḡw n·f*, or (fem.) *ḡḡt n·s*, with which the additional names are introduced is normally translated simply "... , called ..." (Gard. *Egn. Gr.* § 377, 1 [p. 295, top]); but to retain the indication of the gender of the person referred to, which, owing to the damage suffered by the list, is in some cases not otherwise apparent, it has seemed best to employ the somewhat over-elaborate form "He is called ...," or "She is called ..." Concentrating for the moment on the "b"-column names bestowed on persons who in the "a" columns have or may have had Asiatic names we start with entry 7 b (Plate VIII) and, in our first run-through of the "b" columns, omit all entries which do not conform to this definition.

(Plate VIII) 7. She is called Ka(i)punebi (*Kṯ(-i)-pw-nb·i*)

9. [He is called]

10. She is called ...-en- (-n) ...

11. She is called S...tenef (*S...t-n·f*)

12. He is called ṛAnkhus[on]be (*ṛnhw-s[n]b*)

13. She is called Werditninūb (*Wr-dīt-n·i-Nbw*)

14. She is called Seneb[sen?]wosret (*Snb-[S-n?]-Wsrt*)

15. She is called Nūb-..... (*Nbw-.....*)

16. She is called Sene[b]-..... (*Sn[b]-.....*)

(Plate IX) 17. She is called Ḥenwetipuwadjet (*Ḥnwt·i-pw-Wṯḏt*)

18. He is called ṛAnkhuemḥes(w)et (*ṛnhw-m-ḥs(w)t*)

19. He is called Ressonbe (*Rs-snb*)

21. She is called Senebḥenwetes (*Snb-ḥnwt·s*)

22. She is called Mer(y)etnūb (*Mr(y)t-Nbw*)

23. [She is] called Werintef... (*Wr-īnt·f...*)

25. She [is called] Nūbemmerkōs (*Nbw-m-mr-Kīs*)

26. She is called Senebḥenwet[es?] (*Snb-ḥnwt[·s?]*)

27. He is called Amenem... (*Imn-m-...*)

29. She is called Menḥeswet (*Mn-ḥswt*)

32.

(Plate X) 33. She is called Senebḥe[nwetes] (*Snb-ḥ[nwt·s]*)

35. She is called Waḥressonbe (*Wḥ-Rs-snb*)

37. She is called Ressonbewaḥe (*Rs-snb-wḥ*)

47. She is [called] Nefret (*Nfrt*)

(Plate XI) 52. She is called Yūnesi... (*Iw-n·s-ī...*)

55. She is called ...-nefreten-... (*...-nfrt-n-...*)

56. [She is] call[ed] ṛAḥay.?. (*ṛḥy.?.*)

59. [She is called] Yunertōn (*Iw·n-r-tṯ·n*)

61. She is called Senebḥe[nwet]es (*Snb-ḥ[nwt]·s*)

62. She is called Neḥniemkhaset (*Nḥ-n·i-m-ḥst*)

63. He is called Senebnebef (*Snb-nb·f*)
 (Plate XII) 64. She is called Netjeriemsai (*Ntr·i-m-sj[·i]*)
 67. She is called Nūberdies (*Nbw-rdī·s*)
 69. She is called Petimenti (*Pt·i-mn·tī*)

In contrast to the Egyptian names of the "a" columns many of these given names are unusual and interesting. All are eminently suitable appellations for servants and a number were clearly created with this in mind. *Snb-hnwt·s*, "Her-Mistress-is-Well," occurs apparently four times (Lines 21, 26, 33, 61); and we find also *Hnwt·i-pw-Wjdt*, "(The-Goddess-)Wadjet-is-my-Mistress" (17), *Pt·i-mn·tī*, "My-Heaven (= My-Mistress)-Endures" (69),³⁶⁴ *Snb-nb·f*, "His-Master-is-Well" (63), and *Ki(·i)-pw-nb·i*, "My-Master-is(-my)-Ka" (7). Some names are especially appropriate to persons of foreign origin separated from their homes, as, for example, *Nh-n·i-m-hst*, "I-am-Prayed-for-in-a-Foreign-Land" (62), *Iw·n-r-tj·n*, "We(-shall?)-Come-to-our-Land" (59), and *Ntr·i-m-sj[·i]*, "My-God-is[-my]-Protection" (64). Unlike the "a" entries the names of the "b" columns include a number compounded with the names or epithets of Egyptian divinities. Most common are the feminine names in which the goddess Hathor is referred to, as frequently elsewhere, as *Nbw*, "The Gold" (*Wb.* ii, 239). I have found no parallel for *Wr-dī-t-n·i-Nbw*, "Great-is-what-'The-Gold'-has-Given-to-me" (?) (13); but *Nbw-rdī·s* (67) is listed in *PN.* i, 191 (16); the interesting name *Nbw-m-mr-Kis* (25), " 'The-Gold'-is-in-the-Canal-of-Kusae" (?), may be compared with *PN.* i, 214 (14), *Ntr-m-mr*, "The-God-is-in-the-Canal"; and *Mr(y)t-Nbw*, "She-who-is-Beloved-of-'The-Gold' " of Line 22, with *PN.* i, 159 (2). The Asiatic of Line 27 was renamed in honor of the god Amūn in a name which is probably to be restored as *'Imn-m-[hst]*. In *Snb-[S-n]-Wsrt* of Line 14 we may have reference to one of the great kings of the Twelfth Dynasty; and the popularity of the name *ḥnw*, both alone and in such combinations as *ḥnw-s[n]b*, "ḥAnkhu-is-Well" (12), and *ḥnw-m-hswt*, "ḥAnkhu-is-Praised (lit. in-Praises)" (18), is perhaps traceable to the contemporary vizier of that name (see above, Chap. III, 2). The equally popular *Rs-snb* is found by itself (19) and in two variations of a name meaning "Ressonbe-Endures," *Wjḥ-Rs-snb* of Line 35 and *Rs-snb-wjḥ(w?)* of Line 37. Names indicative simply of their bearers' virtues are *Mn-hswt(·i?)*, "(My?-)Praises-Endure" (29) and *Nfrit*, "The Good (Woman)" (47). Of the incomplete names No. 23 is perhaps to be restored as *Wr-īnt·f-[n·i]*, "Great-is-What-he-Brings-[to-me]"; and No. 52, as *Iw-n·s-i[t·s]*, "[Her]-fat[her]-Belongs-to-Her" (?) (*PN.* i, 13 [24]). Most names which, like No. 56, begin with the element *ḥj*, "The-Fighter-....," are masculine, but *PN.* i lists one doubtfully read feminine example (44 [16]).

There seems to have been no general effort to reproduce in the names assigned to these people either the meaning or the sound of their original names. A possible

364. On this name, misunderstood by Ranke (*PN.* i, 137 (18); ii, 66. 358), see Clère, *Revue d'Égyptologie*, 3, 105.

exception is found in Line 59 where the unusual, though translatable, Egyptian name of Column "b," *'Iw·n-r-tj·n*, has a sound not unlike the Semitic name *ʿAnat*... of the "a" column.

Unlike those which we have been discussing the remaining names preserved in the "b" columns of our list were not replacements for "unpronounceable" foreign names, but were appellations applied to persons, both Asiatics and Egyptians, already possessed of good Egyptian names. They may therefore be properly classed as nicknames. The "b" entries in which these eight names occur are as follows:

- (Plate VIII) 1. He is called Hedjeri (*Hdri*)
 8. He is called Renefres (*Rn·f-rs*)
 (Plate X) 34. He is called Hedjeru (*Hdrw*)
 (Plate XI) 48. She is called Nefrettjent[et] (*Nfrrt-tnt[t]*)
 51. He is called Werni (*Wr-n·i*)
 58. [He is called] Paʿaam (*Pj-ʿm*)
 60. She is called the daughter of Bebisheryet (*Bbi-šryt*), Iyt (*'Ii·t*)
 (Plate XII) 72. [He] is [called] Burekh[ef] (*Bw-hh[·f]*)

Since they are for the most part no shorter than the names to which they are appended it is clear that the majority of these nicknames were employed, not for the sake of brevity, but, rather, to assist in identifying the persons to whom they were applied. For example, three of the individuals involved — two Egyptians and one Asiatic — bore the exceedingly common name *ʿnhw*; but, thanks to the "b" entries, we can differentiate (1) *ʿnhw* called *Hdri* ("The Hyena"?),³⁶⁵ (34) *ʿnhw* called *Hdrw*, and (58) *ʿnhw* called *Pj-ʿm* ("The Asiatic"). In Lines 8 and 72 two of the many *Rs-snb*'s are distinguished by their respective nicknames, *Rn·f-rs* and *Bw-rh[·f]*; and in Line 48 a maidservant whose "real" name was the common [*'Iw·*]*s-n·i* (see Line 4 a), or something of the sort, is identified by the interesting nickname *Nfrrt-tnt[t]* (cf. *PN*. i, 204 [4] and 202 [15]). An exception to what has been said above is *Wr-n·i* of Line 51 b, itself a shortened form of a longer name,³⁶⁶ which does provide a welcome brief appellation for the Egyptianized Asiatic whose formal name, *ʿmw*..., was evidently long and elaborate. The identity of the maidservant *'Ii·t(i)* of Line 60 is established by the "b"-column reference (under the guise of a nickname?) to her real or foster mother, *Bbi-šryt* (cf. *recto*, Lines 5, 6, and 10 b [Plate I]).

These with the isolated signs preserved in Lines 73 (...*r·i*) and 74 (...*y*...) and the destroyed entries of Lines 31, 45, 46, 50, 57, and 75-95 complete the personal names preserved in the list of servants, and, with the exception of *Snb·tšy* and *Tj-hnwt* of Text B (below), are the last of the many personal names preserved in the

365. On this name and *Hdrw* see *PN*. i, 261 (20 and 22); and on the *hḏr*-animal, *Ibid.* (18), and *Wb.* iii, 214 (11). See also *PN*. ii, 182, 184.

366. See *PN*. ii, 95 ff. (especially 98).

whole of our papyrus. As already noted, an index of all such names, with references to Ranke's *Personennamen* (and occasionally other references), will be found below, at the end of this monograph.

The remainder of the "b"-column entries consist entirely of the notations *rn·f pw*,³⁶⁷ *rn·s pw*,³⁶⁸ literally "it is his name," "it is her name." With the obvious meaning of "same name" and the implication that the person's own name (Col. "a") is all that exists or is required by way of appellation, these entries are found also in similar lists of names in the Lahūn Papyri³⁶⁹ and elsewhere.³⁷⁰

3. THE "c" ENTRIES

These are for the most part abbreviated writings of titles indicating the occupations or trades for which the adult servants of our list had shown special capabilities and to which they had presumably been assigned by their previous masters. In other lists of working people which have come down to us from the Middle Kingdom titles of this sort normally precede the names of the persons involved (e.g., *P. Kah.* 14-26 *passim*); and our closest parallels to the present arrangement are the red "c" entries of Lines 1-24 of the *recto* of this papyrus (Plate I. Chap. II, 3). Among the thirty-eight entries which have survived in the much damaged "c" columns of the list we can recognize fifteen different titles, six of which are borne exclusively by men and nine exclusively by women.

Hry-pr, one of the two most common of the men's titles, is found after the names of three Egyptians (Lines 1, 20, 68) and two Asiatics (18, 19). Here, as elsewhere, it quite evidently means simply "house-man," "domestic servant," that is, one who is employed in or about the house;³⁷¹ and not "chief of a house," "house-master," "house-steward," or "house-official," as has on occasion been supposed.³⁷² Among the references cited by *Wb.* (i, 515, 1-2) and the many other occurrences of *hry-pr*, alone or in composite titles,³⁷³ there is none in which it cannot reasonably be translated "servant"; and in most instances, as in our present context, there seems to be not the slightest doubt that this is its meaning. A House-servant of the Palace (*hry-pr n pr*) or of the Vizier (*hry-pr n tjt*) may well have been a person of some standing in

367. Lines 4-6, 20, 41-44, 49, 53, 66, 68, 71.

368. Lines 2, 3, 24, 28, [30], 36, 38-40, 54, 65, 70.

369. *P. Kah.* 10, 11-17; 11, 5, 7; 14, 26, 32, 38; 15, 26; see p. 26.

370. *Wb.* ii, 426 (19).

371. Gard. *Egn. Gr.* pp. 183, 582.

372. *Wb.* i, 515 (1-2); Budge, *Dictionary*, p. 495 A; *Westc.* pp. 7, 24; *P. Kah.* p. 23.

373. E.g., *shd lmy-ht hry-pr* (Cairo 1443 d); *hry-pr n jht* (Cairo 20149 f); *hry-pr whmw*, *hry-pr hsw*, and *hry-pr wdpw* (Cairo 20018); *hry-pr n t t hnt* (Berl. *Al.* No. 7309); etc.; see Lange-Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine*, iii, p. 64. See also *Sinai*, Nos. 85, 112, etc.

his community,³⁷⁴ and some of the other *hry(w)-pr* were evidently sufficiently affluent to set up stelae of their own at Abydos. One of the more interesting of such monuments is a crudely carved limestone slab of late Middle Kingdom date (Cairo 20018) dedicated in behalf of twenty persons of modest means and low social status, including nine house-men (*hry-pr*), two nurses (*mnꜥt*), a baker (*rtꜥty*), and a brewer (*ꜥfty*). Among the co-owners of this stela are two *hry(w)-pr* whose names, *ꜥnh-m-ꜥswt* and *Nfw-m-ꜥntyw*, are so uncommon that it is quite possible that they are the same servants named in Lines 18 and 86 of our present list. An Asiatic *hry-pr* is recorded by Petrie in *Ancient Egypt*, 1927, p. 115, No. 1600; and two female house-servants, *hryt-pr*, appear in Cairo 20561. When represented on Egyptian monuments the *hry(w)-pr* and their female counterparts are usually found in the lower registers of stelae or tomb walls and are sometimes shown bearing items of food and drink or performing other functions appropriate to domestic servants.³⁷⁵ Probably the *hry-pr* best remembered from Egyptian literature is Webaner's servant, of *Westc.* 2, 7 and 3, 6, who prepared the pleasure-house for his master's erring wife and "the townsman" and subsequently helped to encompass the latter's downfall.

Of equal frequency, though confined, as remarked above, to native Egyptians (4, 5, 41, 42, 72) is the title *ihwty* (or *ꜥhwty*), "fieldhand," which has already been discussed in connection with the red "c" entries of the *recto* (Lines 1 ff. See Chap. II, 3, and footnote 109).

The name of the Asiatic of Line 9 is followed by the common title *ꜥfty*, "brewer";³⁷⁶ and those of the two Asiatics of Lines 6 and 12 by a title which I have transcribed and read with some hesitation as *psy*, "cook." The hieratic form of the initial sign, with the down-curving lateral stroke, suits the "brazier" (Q 7: Möll. *Pal.* i, No. 594) better than any of the other possible signs,³⁷⁷ and Posener has found a number of examples of the title *psy*, "cook," written as here, in the smaller manuscript of Papyrus Bulak 18.³⁷⁸ The fragmentary "c" entry of Line 27, with a (perhaps

374. See Cairo 20521, 20104 (Lieblein, *Dictionnaire*, No. 1883); Leyd. V 21 (*Denkm.* ii, No. 42, pl. 32); Hermitage 1075 (Lourié, *Mél. Masp.* i, 907-8, plate).

375. See Metropolitan Museum, acc. no. 22.3.308 (Dyn. XIII-XVII stela: Hayes, *Scepter of Egypt*, i, fig. 227, lower left); Cairo 20056 (t), 20160 (i), 20231 (i), 20520 (e, f), 20561 (d, e), 20578 (c); Brit. Mus. 162.504.1578.

376. *Wb.* i, 183 (9); Gard. *Egn. Gr.* § 89 and Sign-list, A 36; Lange-Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine*, iii, p. 53 (14 examples); Leyd. V 3 and V 51 (*Denkm.* ii, pls. 2 and 39). An Asiatic brewer is listed by Lieblein, *Dictionnaire*, No. 1778, and a woman brewer, *ꜥfyt* (*Wb.* i, 183 [10]), by the same compiler, No. 225 ("Louvre Stela No. 23" = Louvre C. 18: *Bull.* 30, 45-8, pl. 3).

377. E.g., Möll. *Pal.* i, Nos. 181, 425, 462, 503, 508, 590. I was once inclined to read the title as *ꜥpry*, "vintager" (cf. *ꜥprw*: *Wb.* i, 181 [11]); but Posener pointed out that the form of the initial hieratic sign is different from that of the *ꜥpr*-sign in Line 9 a (Plate VIII).

378. *P. Boul.* xviii, facsimile, pl. 51, Col. II, 4, and Col. III, 4. It occurs also in two unpublished sections of the papyrus (Photographs H and M). It is borne throughout by a man named

inadvertent) vertical stroke running through the middle of it, is probably to be read *šd* and the male Asiatic whose name it follows to be identified as a "tutor," or "guardian," of children (*Wb.* iv, 565, 18).

Beside the Egyptian fieldhands (*ihwty*) and the domestic servants (*hry-pr*, *ḥfty*, *psy*, and *šd*), most of whom were Asiatics, we find among the men of our list one craftsman, the Egyptian "sandalmaker," or "cobbler," (*tbw*)³⁷⁹ of Line 46. Like his fellows, male and female, this man, however, was first and foremost a servant — in this case a *hm-nsw* — and only secondarily a specialist in his designated trade or occupation.

Since we know that one of the principal occupations of female servants, especially those imported from Asia, was the production of linen cloth,³⁸⁰ we are not surprised to find twenty of the twenty-nine women whose "c"-column titles are preserved designated as clothmakers. To judge from their titles they appear to have specialized in the manufacture of two kinds of fabrics, *šsr* and *ḥtyw*, both well known from the Old Kingdom onward. *šsr* (see Lines 7, 16, 22, etc.; *Wb.* iv, 547, 11) is one of the three principal types or qualities of cloth named in the linen lists of the IInd to VIth Dynasties.³⁸¹ It is mentioned also in the Pyramid Texts (*Pyr.* 1393 b) and is listed on the interiors of Middle Kingdom coffins.³⁸² *Ḥtyw* (see Lines 10, 11, 13, etc.; *Wb.* iii, 35, 6-7 [cf. 5]) appears to have been a fine, soft cloth used for the more luxurious types of garments,³⁸³ for surgical dressings,³⁸⁴ and for magical and funerary purposes.³⁸⁵ The titles *šḥt-ḥtyw*, "weaver of *ḥtyw*-cloth" (Lines 10, 11, 13, etc.) and *šḥt-šsr*, "weaver of *šsr*-cloth" (Line 16) present no particular difficulties in reading and interpretation, the "bird-trap" sign (T 26) being clearly an abbreviated writing of an active participial form of the common verb *šḥt*, "weave" (*Wb.* iv, 263, 6 ff.).³⁸⁶ What operation in the manufacture of cloth was performed by the *ḏ(?)*-*šsr* of Lines 7, 22, etc., and the *ḏ(?)*-*ḥtyw* of Lines 17, 26, etc., is, on the other hand,

Snb-nb·f (cf. our Line 63 b). See also Mariette, *Cat. Abydos*, p. 272, No. 825, bottom register; Budge, *Dictionary*, 247 B; *Sinai*, Nos. 85 (E. Face), 112 (S. Edge).

379. *Wb.* v, 363 (11-15); Berlin P. 10014, 1-5 (Borchardt, *ÄZ.* 37, 91; Scharff, *ÄZ.* 59, 23); Berlin P. 10050, 1-5 (Möll. *HL.* i, p. 18, 8 B; Borchardt, *ÄZ.* 37, 98; Gard. *Egn. Gr.* § 440, 5); Gard. *Egn. Gr.*, Sign-list, S 33; *AEO.* i, p. 68* (A 163); Cairo 20220 b, 20322 a, b; *Hamm.* 123 b, 5; 127.

380. See *P. Kah.* 32, 5 (pp. 75-6); *Urk.* iv, 742, 15; 1148, 2; Bakir, *Slavery*, 23 and 114; Posener, *Syria*, 18, 184.

381. Jéquier, *Frises d'objets*, 35 n. 1; Smith, *ÄZ.* 71, 134-49 (especially 136-8); Cairo 1330. 1385. 1391; Junker, *Giza* i, 31. 177. 185-7. 229-31. 246; iv, 69; etc.

382. Jéquier, *Op. cit.*, 31. 33. 35.

383. *Adm.* 14, 1 and 14, 4 (pp. 89, 90).

384. *P. Kah.* 5, 37 (p. 8); *P. med. Lond.* 13, 9 (p. 155); *Hearst* 1, 16.

385. *M.u.K.* 8, 3 (pp. 30, 31); *Gebr.* ii, 13; Jéquier, *Op. cit.*, 32-3.

386. The title *šḥty*, "weaver" (*Wb.* iv, 264, 2) appears to be confined to Late Egyptian texts. See *AEO.* i, p. 214* (A 305); Pap. Wilbour A 46, 27(h.); Pap. Mayer A (Peet), 5, 6.

very far from clear. Indeed, it is not even certain that the initial element in the two titles is correctly transcribed, though palaeographically the "fire-drill" (U 28; Möll. *Pal.* i, No. 391) does seem preferable to any of the other possibilities.³⁸⁷ We think of the successive operations involved in the production of cloth — preparing the rove, spinning the thread, stretching the warp, dyeing the fabric, and so on; but find, upon investigation, that each of these operations is described by a more or less common verb which in no case includes a sign such as the one which we have here.³⁸⁸ My colleague, Dr. Bull, has made the interesting suggestion that our vertical sign is possibly to be read as the rare Old Kingdom title meaning "painter," "colorer" (*Wb.* v, 639, 12-13). It would seem, however, that the holder of this title was primarily a cosmetician, concerned with the application of face and eye paint; and that a colorer or dyer of cloth was in actuality called a *ps*, literally "boiler" (*AEO.* i, pp. 65-66). Dr. Hans Goedicke's suggestion that the vertical sign may represent the implement held by the seated female figure in the Old Kingdom title *irywt*, "Weavers" (?), (Junker, *Gîza* v, 55-8) certainly merits consideration, though it does not immediately solve the problem of the reading and translation of our title. A similarly shaped sign appears in the title of the overseers of cloth production at the extreme left of the Beni Hasan weaving scenes (*BH.* ii, pls. 4. 13), and *Sinai* No. 404 (N. Edge and E. Face; cf. No. 103 W. Face) indicates that this title is to be read *imy-r dtt*. Our title too is probably to be read *dj* . . . and is perhaps to be associated with the verb *dj*, "stretch forth (the arm)," "stretch out," "extend" (*Wb.* v, 514, 4 ff.), and/or with the nouns *dj*, *djt*, *djw*, and *djyt* designating a kind, or kinds, of cloth (*Wb.* v, 515 and 519).³⁸⁹ Even though we already have an expression, *sts-tt*, for "stretching the warp,"³⁹⁰ it is difficult to get away from the idea that the action referred to in our title had something to do with the setting-up and spacing of the warp threads of the two fabrics involved. This operation would have been almost as important a factor in determining the nature and quality of the fabrics produced (*šsr* or *hštyw*) as would the insertion of the weft threads, performed by the other female cloth-makers of our group, the *šht*, or "weavers."

The twenty cloth-makers of our list were almost entirely Asiatic women, the only exceptions being the "maidservant *Htpt* of Line 70 and probably the woman [*Wjdt(?)*]-*hšw* of Line 65, both of whom were warpers (?) of *šsr*-cloth. Another title borne chiefly — perhaps exclusively³⁹¹ — by female Asiatics was that of Lines 45, 56,

387. E.g., Möll. *Pal.* i, Nos. 63, 124, 181, 271, 289, 341 (single), 456, 467, 553, 567, 589.

388. *BH.* i, pl. 29; ii, pls. 4. 13; iv, pl. 15; *Five Th. T.*, pp. 33-5, pls. 35, 37; Juhl, *Unt.* 8, 19. 23; Klebs, *Die Reliefs und Malereien des m. R.*, pp. 125-32, figs. 91, 92, 94.

389. We might also consider connecting our title with the Late Egyptian *djty* (*AEO.* i, p. 215* [A 307]), the name of an as yet unidentified craft. In the onomasticon of Amenope this craft is listed only two places after that of the "weaver" (*šhty*: A 305).

390. *Five Th. T.*, p. 35 n. 2.

391. The nationality of the woman of Line 45 is uncertain.

62, and 69. Consisting solely of what appears to be the plough-sign (U 13: Möll. *Pal.* i, No. 468), this title is perhaps to be read *šnꜥ* and taken to mean a person attached to a magazine or ergastulum. For the title itself (normally a plural) see Cairo 20473 (= *Wb.* v, 509, 1) and *Hamm.* 87, 16, and compare *Urk.* i, 281 (1); and for the employment of servants, slaves, and especially foreign captives in temple and government "ergastula" (*pr-šnꜥ* or *šnꜥ*)³⁹² see Bakir, *Slavery*, pp. 39-47 *passim*, and *Urk.* iv, 781 (1-2), 795 (11-12), 796 (3, 7), 1102 (15). *Hamm.* 87, 16, seems to indicate that "people of a *šnꜥ*" could be owned, or at least controlled, by private individuals as well as by public foundations. So also does *BH.* i, pl. 29, where two overseers (*imy-r*) of the *šnꜥ* are supervising the brewing of beer and the spinning and weaving of cloth by Khnumhotpe's male and female servants, respectively. Since the "plough" (U 13) is not used as an ideogram for *hb*, *skj*, and other words meaning to "plough" or "cultivate" and since Asiatic women would probably not be used for this purpose in any case, it is highly unlikely that we have here a term meaning "plougher," "ploughwoman."

In Line 2 we are on firmer ground with the interesting and not very common female title *nšt*, "hairstresser" (*Wb.* ii, 337, 6) discussed by Mme. Gauthier-Laurent in *Mélanges Maspero* I, pp. 685 and 687, and more recently by Mrs. Riefstahl in the *Brooklyn Museum Bulletin*, Volume XIII, No. 4. *Kjr(y)t*, "(female) gardener," of Lines 38 and 43, though not yet known from the Middle Kingdom,³⁹³ appears to have been sufficiently common later to be used as a personal name, *Tj-kjry(t)* (*PN.* ii, 191 and 327, 28).

The reading of the title (or epithet?), *prt nt rꜥs*, appended to the name of the Egyptian woman of Line 40 seems clear enough (Plate X), but its meaning is far from clear. By analogy with *pry*, "champion," "stander-forth" (*Gard. Sin.* 44), and such expressions as *pr-ꜥ*, "energetic" (*Wb.* i, 527), we might suppose *prt nt rꜥs*, literally "Goer-forth-of-her-mouth," to mean "eloquent one," "reciter," "diseuse." In *tt(?)-kjt(?)*... of Line 35 we may have a title compounded with the word *tt*, "staff(-member)," found on the Na'rmer palette and discussed at some length by Gardiner, in *JEA.* 24, 170-1 — a title meaning perhaps "member of the work-staff," "(female) laborer," or the like.

After the name of the Asiatic boy of Line 58 we seem to have his occupation listed as "child" (*ms*), an entry which may have been intended as humorous or may simply have slipped into the wrong column. Otherwise the "c" columns show conspicuous blanks after the names of all the children, suggesting, as we have already remarked, that they were too young to work. They were obviously also too young to be separated from their mothers, and it is not unlikely that many of them were infants in arms.

392. Perhaps better translated "depot" or something of the sort (see *JEA.* 32, 9).

393. Cf., however, the masculine title *kjry*, "gardener," *Wb.* v, 108, 13.

For clarity and ease of reference we may summarize our findings on the "c" entries in a simple table:

Occupations of the Male Servants

<u>Title</u>	<u>Lines</u>	<u>Holders</u>
"House man" (<i>hry-pr</i>)	1, 18, 19, 20, 68	3 Egyptians; 2 Asiatics
"Fieldhand" (<i>ihwty</i>)	4, 5, 41, 42, 72	5 Egyptians
"Brewer" (<i>rfty</i>)	9	1 Asiatic
"Cook" (?) (<i>psy ?</i>)	6, 12	2 Asiatics
"Tutor" (<i>šd</i>)	27	1 Asiatic
"Sandalmaker" (<i>tbw</i>)	46	1 Egyptian

Occupations of the Female Servants

<u>Title</u>	<u>Lines</u>	<u>Holders</u>
"Weaver of <i>hstyw</i> -cloth" (<i>šht hstyw</i>)	10, 11, 13, [14, 15,] 21, [23,] 25, 61	9 Asiatics
"Warper (?) of <i>hstyw</i> -cloth" (<i>dj(?) hstyw</i>)	17, 26, 37, 59, 64	5 Asiatics
"Weaver of <i>šsr</i> -cloth" (<i>šht šsr</i>)	16	1 Asiatic
"Warper (?) of <i>šsr</i> -cloth" (<i>dj(?) šsr</i>)	7, 22, 47, 65, 70	3 Asiatics; 2(?) Egyptians
"Magazine-employee" (<i>šnc</i>)	45, 56, 62, 69	4(?) Asiatics
"Hairdresser" (<i>nšt</i>)	2	1 Egyptian
"Gardener" (<i>kyr(y)t</i>)	38, 43	2 Egyptians
"Reciter" (?) (<i>pṛt nt r·s</i>)	40	1 Egyptian
"Laborer" (?) (<i>tt(?)-kjt(?)...</i>)	35	1 Asiatic

4. THE "d" ENTRIES

The last, or lefthand, column of each section of our list consists entirely of abbreviated writings of the words for "man"(*s*), "woman"(*st*), and "child"(*ms*).

"Man" (Lines 1, 4, 5, etc.) is written with a diagonal, comma-like sign standing for the seated-man ideogram (A 1: Möll. *Pal.* i, No. 33 B), the tail of this sign often running into the overly large vertical stroke immediately to the left (Z 1: Möll. *Pal.* i, No. 558). The same curious writing is found in *P. Kah.* 9, 9 and 24. As already remarked in connection with the similar entries on the *recto* of our papyrus (Chap. II, 3), the vertical stroke is almost certainly not to be taken as the numeral "1," but

simply as an indication that the ideogram stands here for the object which it depicts (Gard. *Egn. Gr.* § 25). In entries of this type in other Middle Kingdom lists of persons the stroke is frequently omitted (see *recto*, Lines 1 c ff.; *P. Kah.* 13, 2-4. 30-32; 14, 15-24; etc.).

No stroke accompanies the designation "woman" (Lines 2, 7, 10, etc.). This is written throughout with a single sign (B 1), the hieratic form of which resembles more closely the large, detailed version of Möll. *Pal.* i, No. 61, than it does the small, cursive form found in *P. Kah.*, plates 10, 13, etc. In the transcriptions I have attempted to indicate this fact by making the "woman"-sign (B 1) the full height of the line, while keeping the "man"-sign (A 1) of the adjoining entries appreciably smaller.

Most interesting of the "d" entries are those consisting of the designation "child." The diagonal stroke (Z 5: Möll. No. 559) with which these entries are written probably stands for the "woman-giving-birth" (B 3 = *ms*, "child") rather than for the "sitting-child" (A 17 = *hrd*, "child") as assumed by Griffith in his rather free transcriptions of exactly similar entries in *P. Kah.*, plates 9, 10, and 13. Below the stroke, which is often given a long, down-sweeping tail, we find in the case of a boy-child only the diagonal blob of Möll. No. 33 B, but in the case of a girl-child the quite different and more elaborate sign standing for the seated-woman (*Ibid.* No. 61 B). Although the photograph is not very clear, the same differentiation seems to be made in *P. Kah.* 9 (compare the "child"-entry of Line 18 with those of Lines 20 and 21).

Actually, the "d" entries tell the user of the list nothing that he could not already have learned or surmised from the titles and names of the preceding columns. They serve, however, (or did serve when they were complete) as a convenient means of checking rapidly the sex and adulthood of the persons listed and of determining at a glance the number of men, of women, and of children (of each sex) involved. It is conceivable that in a list of servants of this sort, where the numbers and sexes of the persons listed were likely to be of more immediate importance than their names and nationalities, the "d" entries were consulted more frequently than any of the others.

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<u>Title</u>	<u>Lines</u>	<u>Holders</u>
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V. THE OTHER TEXTS ON THE *VERSO*

The three remaining texts on the *verso* of the Brooklyn papyrus are in two cases ("A" and "C") captions, or dockets, belonging to the list of servants, and in the third instance ("B") a copy of a legal document appended to the end of the list and more or less intimately associated with it. The order in which these texts are lettered and treated in the present chapter reflects the chronological order in which they were apparently written.

1. TEXT "A" (PLATE XIII)

The earlier of the two captions, A, was written before the list proper was completed, its setting-down having followed hard upon that of entries 64-79 (Plate XII) and having preceded that of entries 80-95 (Plate XIII). The curious way in which the caption itself is composed — in a sort of openwork pattern of, for the most part, short horizontal lines and vertical columns — was probably prompted by the desire on the part of the scribe to make this relatively short text fill the same vertical and much the same horizontal space as the sections of the list on either side of it. Parallels are difficult to cite since other considerations beside the exigencies of space are usually present, but the ingenuity of the ancient scribe in fitting a text to the space available for it is familiar to all students of Egyptian writing.³⁹⁴ In the present instance prolonged speculation, in any event, has failed to suggest any other significance for the arrangement, lengths, and spacing of the lines.

Starting in Line A 1 with the isolated preposition *m*, which undoubtedly refers to the whole group of servants named in the surrounding list, we read:

1. "Being
2. a gift
3. (of) Regnal Year 1, Month 2 of Prōyet, Day 6,
4. under the Majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Sekhemrēꜥ
Sewadjtowy, [the Son of Rēꜥ, Sobkhot]pe, may he live forever and ever!
The guard
5. says: "The people (for whom) he petitioned have been transport[ed]'
'I
6. [says]: ' petitioned have been transpo[r]ted]'"
(The rest is missing)

The introductory preposition I have taken to be the *m* of equivalence (Gard.

394. See, for example, my *Texts in the Maṣtabeh of Sern-Wosret-rankh*, p. 7.

Egn. Gr. § 162, 6), the group of servants being, then, "as," or "by way of," a gift. It might perhaps be taken equally well as the *m* of instrument (*Ibid.* 7), in which case we should read "By gift (or deed of gift) (of) Regnal Year 1," etc. — a rendering which would also be acceptable in Line 1 of Text C (see Plate VIII).

The key expression here, in Text C, and perhaps also (in elliptical form) in Text B³⁹⁵ is, of course, *wt-drt*, literally "(an) extension-of-the-hand." Since in the present contexts there can be no question of "laying the hand upon" in a hostile or damaging sense (*Wb.* i, 5 [8, 9]) we must suppose the term either to mean a "handing-over," a "delivery," a "presentation," or to be the equivalent of the common expression *wt-ꜥ* and to mean therefore a "present," or "gift."³⁹⁶ Every probability, it seems to me, favors the latter interpretation. Text A, to be sure, might be thought of as simply recording the physical handing-over of the servants to their new owner; but Texts B (29) and C (1) quite evidently describe something of a more fundamental and permanent nature than the mere "delivery" of these servants and other property to the man's wife. Clearly in these two texts we have to do with a *gift* of property, and a formal gift, at that, made in accordance with the law and attested to by a duly drawn-up and registered legal document. Have we not, then, in *wt-drt* the legal term for "gift," "conveyance by gift," or even "deed of gift," as opposed to the less formal expression *wt-ꜥ*, with the more general meaning of "presents," "bounty," and the like? By analogy with *wt-ꜥ*, "presents," and *wt*, "oblations," "offerings,"³⁹⁷ I see no difficulty in accepting *wt* of Text B (Line 29) either as a shortened version of *wt-drt* or as a variant expression with approximately the same meaning. In Text A the *wt-drt* appears to have been a grant made by, or by authority of, the pharaonic government to a private individual. In Texts B and C it seems to have been a legally recorded gift made by a private citizen to his wife.

In spite of the gaping lacuna in Line 4 the identity of the king to whose reign Text A and the surrounding list are dated is established by his almost completely preserved praenomen, *Shm-Rꜥ Swjd-tꜣwy*. That the fourth sign in the cartouche is indeed the papyrus-stem, *wjd* (M 13), appears certain (see Möll. *Pal.* i, No. 230 "Illahun"), and this is important since other kings of the XIIIth Dynasty have very similar throne-names — notably, *Shm-Rꜥ Sꜥnh-tꜣwy* (*Nfr-htp*).³⁹⁸ The present king, Sekhemrꜥ Sewadjtowy [Sobkhot]pe, generally referred to by modern historians as Sobkhotpe III, is named in both the Karnak List (No. 35) and apparently in the Turin Canon of Kings (VI, 24) where he is assigned a reign of three years and some-

395. *wt*: Lines [1 ?] and 29. See below, Section 2.

396. *Wb.* i, 5 (7); *Sin.* B 175. 187. 211. 245; *Gard. Sin.* pp. 63, 67-8, 81; *Urk.* iv, 115. 147. 520.

397. *Wb.* i, 5 (2; cf. 10); *Gard. Egn. Gr.* p. 70, Sign-list F 40; *Urk.* iv, 108. Cf. *tw* of *P. Kah.* 10, 5 a. 24 a; 11, 2-3; *Urk.* iv, 967 (10); Gardiner, *JEa.* 8, 192, pl. 18.

398. Weill, *Rev. d'Ég.* 4, 218-20; Cairo J.59635 (a limestone stela from Karnak copied by J. J. Clère for the *Catalogue général* and assigned the number 20799, but not yet published).

thing over two months. Succeeded on the throne by Khaṣ-sekhemrē Neferhotep I, he was one of the well-documented rulers of the mid-XIIIth Dynasty and is known from many monuments found in both Upper and Lower Egypt³⁹⁹—including, probably, Papyrus Bulak 18.⁴⁰⁰ His immediate predecessor appears to have been Sekhemrē Wadjkhaṣu Sobkemsaf I,⁴⁰¹ known from an inscription in the quarries at Hammamat to have ruled for at least seven years (*JEA*. 10, 268 n. 3).

The words which follow, *sṣw ḡd rmt spr·n·f* . . . , could be taken to mean “Beware lest the people say: ‘He has made petition . . .’” or “Beware of saying: ‘The people (for whom) he has made petition . . .’”;⁴⁰² but in the present context either is extremely unlikely. Rather, we seem to have here the formal statement of the guard (*sṣw*)⁴⁰³ charged with the delivery of the servants to their new master to the effect that their transportation (*hn* . . .), perhaps by water, has been completed. *Dd* and *hn* . . . would then be old perfectives in pseudo-verbal constructions, though the latter might also be a narrative form with its object placed first for emphasis (“The people (for whom) he has petitioned, [I] have transported [them] . . .”—Gard. *Egn. Gr.* § 148, 2). *Spr(w?)·n·f* is presumed to be the perfective relative form with resumptive pronoun (preposition and suffix)⁴⁰⁴ omitted or with *spr* used as a transitive verb meaning to “make petition for,” “ask for,” “request.”⁴⁰⁵ In a text as brief and fragmentary as the one before us several translations are of course possible; but the one given seems far and away the most plausible.

In the short vertical descending from Line 5 and in Line 6 the gist of the guard’s statement seems to be repeated, perhaps by way of confirmation, by another speaker whose title or name begins with *I* Since there is neither trace of nor room for *·n·f* or any other group after *sp[r]* of Line 6 the form here is perhaps a passive participle, the confirmatory statement then reading “. . . [the people] who were asked (for) have been transpo[rtd] . . .”

Aside from its date the major interest of Text A lies in the fact that it appears

399. Gauthier, *Livre des rois*, ii, 19 ff.; Drioton-Vandier, *L’Égypte*, 286. 315 (No. 16); Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, I 2, § 300 A (p. 304), No. 9; Petrie, *History*, i, 218-20; Weill, *Fin du Moyen Empire*, 411-20, 778-80, 839; *Bull.* 5, 51-6; 32, 22-4; Stock *Ägyptologische Forschungen*, 12, 59. See also *JEA*. 37, 12-28.

400. *JNES*. 12, 38-9.

401. See Weill, *Revue de l’Égypte ancienne*, 2, 170 and nn. 1, 2, and the references cited there.

402. See Gard. *Egn. Gr.* §§ 338, 3, and 303.

403. *Wb.* iii, 418 (1 ff.). A *sṣw ṣmw* 120, “Guard of 120 Asiatics,” is referred to by Stock, *Op. cit.*, 65; and Spiegelberg (*Studien*, 83) cites a XXth Dynasty text recording the delivery of a group of people by a keeper (*sṣw*). The guard referred to in our text was perhaps attached to the Office of the Provider-of-People (see *recto*, Insertion C, Line 6) or to the Great Prison (Chap. II, 4).

404. Gard. *Egn. Gr.* §§ 384, 385.

405. Cf. Gard. *Egn. Gr.* § 84 A (p. 423).

to establish a definite connection between the list of servants on the *verso* of our papyrus and the two mid-XIIIth Dynasty royal decrees (Insertions B and C) on the *recto*. In the second of these decrees, as we have seen (Chap. III, 2), an Overseer of Fields petitions the king to give him the household servants (*hnmw*)⁴⁰⁶ confiscated from a fellow official. Our present text describes the ninety-five household servants listed on the *verso* first as a "gift" (*rwṯ-drt*) and then as "the people (for whom) he made petition." Presuming our readings throughout to be even generally correct, few, I think, will quarrel with the suggestion that the servants mentioned were the same in both cases and that the petitioner of Text A of the *verso* and the petitioner of Insertion C of the *recto* were one and the same man—a man whom we have tentatively identified as the Overseer of Fields Ḥaṣankhef of Papyrus Bulak 18.

The docket recording the delivery of the king's gift of servants to [Ḥaṣankhef(?)] (Text A) would appear, then, to have been written shortly after and as a result of the decree approving [Ḥaṣankhef(?)]'s request that such a gift be made (Insertion C). Since it is dated to Sobkhotpe III's first year on the throne, Insertions B and C, which are dated to Regnal Years [5 ?] and 6, must obviously have been drawn up during the last years of Sobkhotpe III's immediate predecessor. The latter, aside from having been a close predecessor of Sobkhotpe III, must also have occupied the throne for at least six years, a distinction to which few of the pharaohs of the XIIIth Dynasty can lay claim. Indeed, the only ruler who seems to fulfill both of these requirements is, as we have already noted, Sobkemsaf I; and, though his identity with "the king" of Insertions B and C is of course not certain, it is at least highly probable.

2. TEXT "B" (PLATE XIV)

Having followed the steps whereby our ninety-five Egyptian and Asiatic servants came into the possession of the beneficiary of Insertion C of the *recto* and Text A of the *verso* we come now to the copy of a document providing apparently for their further transfer, along with their new owner's other property, to his wife. Our copy of this document was appended immediately to the end of the list of servants almost certainly by the same scribe who drew up the list itself. Although it would seem to be a deed of gift (*rwṯ*), a form of legal instrument for which no exact parallel exists elsewhere,⁴⁰⁷ it is strikingly similar both in organization and content to the typical Middle Kingdom "title to property" (*lmyt-pr*) discussed in some detail by Griffith, Seidl, Harari, and others;⁴⁰⁸ and should be studied in close conjunction with the

406. It is worth noting that the same word is used on the *verso*, in Text B (Line 27), to describe perhaps some of the servants named in the preceding list.

407. See Seidl, *Einführung*, 47, 53 n. 257, 58.

408. Griffith, *P. Kah.*, pp. 29-30; Seidl, *Einführung*, 22-5, 47, 58-9; Harari, *Ann.* 51, 273-96;

classic examples of this type of document preserved in *P. Kah.* 11-13, in Cairo J.42453 (Lacau, *Stèle juridique*, 7 ff.), and in Cairo 34016 (*Urk.* iv, 1065-70).

Assuming, as seems probable, that the first half of Line 1 contained the date⁴⁰⁹ and perhaps the word *wt*, "(deed of) gift,"⁴¹⁰ we read in what remains of this badly damaged text:

1. "[Regnal Year .?., Month .?. of .?., Day .?. (Deed of) Gift (?)] which I have made for my wife, Senebtisy
2. [here, an]d the children thereof. (Now) my daughter, this Tehenwet, is bringing suit
3. [a]nd saying: 'My father has committed a wrong (?). Belongings of mine are in his possession
4. [which were given to me by] (my) husband; but he (my father) has given the the said property to his wife, Senebtisy. Let (it) be restored to me.' So she says.
5. [Let no] one [he]d her, forasmuch as the belongings which her husband gave her are
6. *dj·tw*
7. which the son of the vizier . . . for him
8. Senebtisy
9. officials
10. [Se]ne[bt]isy
11.
12. [childr]en of
13.
14. my [wif]e, Senebtisy
15. [a]nd the children
16. [thereof] Regnal Year 2(?), Month 2(?) of Prōyet(?), Day 1.
17. consisting of my property which is in my possession; [my] catt[le](?);
18. my fields, being what were given me by [my] moth[er](?)
19. (and) being my share in the fields;
20. the house of the children of my father which was given
21. (After) they have frequented(?) it [let it be given to] the children
22. (of) my wife, Senebtisy, likewise, and (to) their [childr]en likewise.
23. Let them make petition [to] my [wife], the sa[id] Senebtis[y],
24. saying, 'The silver and gold; and the balance to our father
25. and our mother in [their] old [age]

Lacau, *Stèle juridique*, 7, 9, 23, etc.; Bakir, *Slavery*, 11, 13, 22; Revillout, *Précis du droit égyptien*, i, 12 ff.; Varille, *Mélanges Maspero*, i, 563.

409. Presumably in Regnal Year 1 or 2 (of Sobkhotpe III).

410. Cf. *P. Kah.* 11, 15-16; 12, 2-3. Possibly [*lmyt-pr*] is to be restored here after all. Line 29 below and Text C 1, however, suggest the restoration given.

26. our father therewith.' There are given my 15 persons,
27. (and) my prisoners, who are members of my household, to my wife, Senebtisy,
28. in addition to my 60 whom I gave to her (on) the fir[st] occasion.
29. Lo, I have given to [this, my wife] a deed of gift made as that which is
30. deposited in the Office of the Reporter of [the Southern City, being] a contrac[t] having upon it my seal
31. and the seal of my wife, Senebti[sy], my [wif]e, Senebtisy."

In the document as preserved to us we search in vain for the name and/or title of its originator which may have been written in a vertical heading to the right of Lines 1-16. From the text proper we learn that the man in question was the husband of a woman named *Snb·tisy* (probably his second wife) and the father of a woman named *Tj-hnwt* (almost certainly the child of a former marriage). From Lines 20 ff. we also gather that he himself was a member of a large family — one of a number of brothers and sisters; and, from Lines 17-28, that he was well provided with worldly belongings, especially servants. His affluence in turn suggests that he was an official of the pharaoh's provincial government and probably a fairly important one. As the owner of the servants named in the immediately preceding list the originator of Text B would also have been the beneficiary of Text A and of Insertion C of the *recto* and, hence, our old friend, the Overseer of Fields of the Southern City, [H_arankhef(?)], the son of Yebiyaru.

In Line 1 the trace low down under the "eye"-sign at the edge of the lacuna is apparently the tail of a hieratic *t*, giving us the feminine of the relative form, *irt·n·i* (after [*wt*] or [*myt-pr*]). In Line 29, however, *wt* seems to be treated as a masculine noun and the participle, *ir*, shows no *t*-ending (cf. *Urk.* iv, 1070, 3). As in the legal texts of the late XIIth Dynasty from el Lahūn (*P. Kah.* 11-13) we find possession expressed by the heretofore little used possessive adjectives (*ty·i hmt*, "my wife" [Line 1], *py·i it*, "my father" [Line 3]), as well as by the suffix pronouns (*st·i*, "my daughter" [Line 2], *hi·s*, "her husband" [Line 5]). The rather awkward ligature, -nb·t-, appearing in the name *Snb·tisy* at the end of Line 1 and elsewhere throughout the text seems to have been fashionable in the hieratic writing of this name and its masculine counterpart, *Snb·tisy* (see *P. Kah.* 26 a, 11; *JEA.* 27, pl. 9, 2). If the Scribe 'Ib·i-ic(w) of Cairo 20677 d was named after his paternal grandfather, then it is possible that his mother, *Snb·tisy*, was identical with the beneficiary of our Text B. Both names, *Snb·tisy* and 'Ib·i-icw, however, were so exceedingly common at this period that there is little hope of a positive identification.

The restoration of the first half of Line 2 has been made with some assurance, for, although at the beginning the remaining traces are not extensive they are highly distinctive — as, for example, the feet and pendent arm of the "child"-sign (*Möll. Pal.* i, No. 30).

As in the present instance, it was not unusual for transfers of property or of title

to property to be opposed, or challenged, by an interested third person, often a member of the donor's family. Indeed, from the wording of Cairo J.52453 (Lacau, *Stèle juridique*, 15. 31) and Cairo 34016 (*Urk.* iv, 1070, 1-5) such opposition, framed in the form of a written petition, or complaint, (*spr*) would appear to have come to be more or less expected.⁴¹¹ Anxious to deal with his daughter's objection as early as possible the originator of Text B cites it immediately after the title of his deed and disposes of it in Line 5 with a formula which we find used elsewhere in similar circumstances: "[Let no] one [hear]ken to her, forasmuch as" ⁴¹² Tehenwet's petition was primarily a suit to recover property and to block the legalization and registration of her father's gift to his wife until this had been accomplished. It was not intended to prevent the making of the gift. From the wording of Line 4 (*rdi·n·f*, "he has given") it is, in fact, clear that part of the gift, including the transfer of the disputed property, had already been made.

The remaining traces of the first word in Line 3 suggest restoring this word as [*h*]n^c, "together with," "and" (compare the writing of *hn^c* in Line 31 and probably also in Lines 14 and 26). If this is correct then *dd·s* is probably to be taken as an infinitive with genitival suffix subject, "together with her saying" (Gard. *Egn. Gr.* § 301), rather than as a *sdm·f* which, as Gardiner has pointed out (*Egn. Gr.* § 171, 4), is rarely preceded by *hn^c*. Actually what we should have expected to find here is *r dd*, "in order to say," "saying" (Gard. *Egn. Gr.* § 224), or perhaps *m dd*, as in Cairo J.52453 (Lacau, *Stèle juridique*, p. 31). See, however, *hn^c dd·f* in Berlin P.10021, 3 a (*ÄZ.* 59, 45 ff., Sheet 9). It is doubtful if there is any direct association between our present construction and the well known formula *hn^c dd*, "and saying," "further," prevalent in Late Egyptian letters (*Wb.* iii, 111, 15; v, 624, 7-8).

The opening sentence of the petition proper appears to read *di·n pry·i it*. I take *pry·i it* "my father," to be its subject and *di·n* to be the *sdm·n·f* form of a verb *di* which, to judge from what follows, must embrace in its meaning some notion of wrongdoing, injustice, or the like. The determinative of this verb, here ligatured with *n*, would appear to be the "bad-bird" (Möll. *Pal.* i, No. 197) and the verb itself to be derived from the same stem as the common noun *dit* (or *dyt*), "transgression," "wrong" (*Wb.* v. 518; Gard. *Egn. Gr.* p. 603). Posener's suggestion that we attach the *s* following *dd* to *di* and read *sdi·n pry·i it*, "(When) my father passed away . . ." (taking the determinative of *sdi* to be the "death"-abbreviation [Z 6]), though possible, does not agree with the facts, Tehenwet's father being obviously very far from dead at the time her complaint was made (see, for example, Line 5).

The rest of the petition (Lines 3-4) and the opening phrases of the "rebuttal" (Line 5) are fairly clear sailing.

411. Harari, *Ann.* 51, 280-2; Seidl, *Einführung*, 23, 25, 34, 48.

412. Cairo J.52453, Lines 7 and 8 (Lacau, *Op. cit.* 15 ff.); *Urk.* iv, 1070, 4 (Gard. *Egn. Gr.* § 340, 3, last example [p. 260, bottom]).

In Lines 3-5 the same items of property are variously described as *hnw*, "chattels," "belongings" (lit. "vessels"),⁴¹³ and as *ht*, "things." The same more or less interchangeable use of these two expressions is found also in *P. Kah.* 12, 8-9, in *P. Berlin* 10003 A ii, 2-3,⁴¹⁴ and in *Peas. R.* 78-9. *Hnw* crops up elsewhere in some well known passages from Egyptian literature. It is the word used in *Westc.* 6, 7, by the strong-minded owner of the hair-ornament who insisted on having "my (own) possession (*hnw·i*)," not its equivalent; and what the Eloquent Peasant had taken from him by the unscrupulous Thutnakhte were his "belongings" (*hnw*) (*Peas. R.* 43. 78. 121) — though what he wanted returned to him was his "property" (*ht*: *R.* 79). We find *hnw* also in the Lahūn Papyri, where it is used of belongings deeded by a man to his wife which she may hand on to her children (*P. Kah.* 12, 9-10) and of goods taken by seizure (*hnw ity m twt*: *P. Kah.* 18, 1, and 20, 1).⁴¹⁵ *Ht* is the word used for "property," "possessions," and "wealth" by the sages Ptahhotpe (*Pt.* 98. 167. 239) and Ipuwēr (*Adm.* 5, 5; 7, 7. 10; 8, 1. 2. 4. 6; 9, 13); and it occurs with the general meaning of "property," "material property," in the decrees of Haremhab (*Haremhab.* 9. 10. 15; *JNES.* 5, 266) and Sethy I (*Nauri.* 31-2; *JEA.* 38, 26).⁴¹⁶ In *Kopt.* 8 (9-10), however, a man's possessions are described as "his people, his property (*ht·f*), and his fields"; and in *Urk.* i, 172(8), as his "house, fields, people, and all things (*ht nb*) which belong to him."⁴¹⁷ In the second column of our present text a similar distinction seems to be made between "(moveable?) property" (*ht*: Line 17) and "fields" (*ihwt*: Lines 18, 19), "house" (*pr*: Line 20), and servants (Lines 26-28).⁴¹⁸

At the end of Line 3 we find two expressions denoting possession, which are, however, fundamentally and significantly different in meaning one from the other. *N·i·imy*, "of mine," "my own," embodies an emphatic affirmation of rightful and permanent ownership;⁴¹⁹ *m·r·f*, "in his hand," "in his charge," merely the idea of physical possession, often of a temporary, and sometimes of an illicit, nature.⁴²⁰ Much the same contrast, as Glanville pointed out years ago (*JEA.* 14, 306), exists between the adjective *ny(t)*, "belonging to," and *m·r*, "in the possession of."

The restoration at the beginning of Line 4 of the perfective relative form of *rdi*, "give," followed by the dative *n* and the first-person suffix (a trace of which still exists) is plausible, though of course not certain. After *hi*, "husband," the seated-man

413. *Wb.* iii, 107 (11); Gard. *Egn. Gr.* p. 168, Vocabulary; § 422 (*Urk.* iv, 733); Sign-list, W 23.

414. Möll. *HL.* i, p. 18, No. 7; Borchardt, *AZ.* 37, 97; Gard. *Egn. Gr.* Exercise XXIII (pp. 255-6).

415. See also Ostrakon Gardiner No. 55, Line 1 (Černý-Peet, *JEA.* 13, 38-9).

416. See also Brunner, *Mitt. Kairo.* 8, 161, pl. 23, Line 1; Petrie, *Tarkhan I*, pl. 80, Line 22.

417. See Seidl, *Einführung*, 42.

418. It is possible, on the other hand, that *m ht* of Line 17 was intended as a comprehensive heading embracing all of what follows. Compare the use of *ht* in *Urk.* iv, 1068, 5 and 7.

419. Gard. *Egn. Gr.* § 113, 3. See de Linage, *Bull.* 38, 224 and n. 2; Gardiner, *AZ.* 43, 38-40.

420. Gard. *Egn. Gr.* § 178 (p. 132). See *Peas. B* I.127 (Vog. Bauer, p. 118); *Adm.* 7, 12; *Haremhab* 27 (*JNES.* 5, 266); Dav. *Rekh.* 91-2, pl. 27 (19).

(A 1) apparently does double duty as determinative and genitival suffix pronoun ($\cdot i$, "my"). Further along in the line $ht im$, literally "the property there," quite evidently refers to the "belongings" mentioned in the preceding line — "the (afore)said property" ("this property" would presumably be $ht tn$ or $nn n ht$). On the formula $šd \cdot tw n \cdot i$, "let (it) be restored to me," "let restitution be made to me," see especially Lacau, *Stèle juridique*, pp. 31 and 32-3; and on $šd i$ with the meaning "restore," "recover" (stolen property), and the like: Peet, *JEA*. 11, 48 n. 2; Blackman, *JEA*. 11, 253; Černý, *JEA*. 23, 187-8; and Brunner, *Mitt. Kairo*. 8, 161, pl. 23 (6). As in Cairo J.52453, 18 (Lacau, *Loc. cit.*), these words conclude the quoted petition, as indicated by the immediately following expression, $hrw \cdot fy sy$, "so she says."⁴²¹

Two parallels — Cairo J.52453 (8) and 34016 (17)⁴²² — have provided the restoration of the beginning of Line 5 wherein the originator of the deed resumes the discourse with a rebuttal of his daughter's claim. The rest of the line following $hr ntt$, "forasmuch as," "because," is taken up by the opening words of a statement employing the verb-form iw and probably, therefore, in the form of a sentence with adverbial predicate (Gard. *Egn. Gr.* § 117, 1). The balance of this statement, lost with Lines 6 ff., presumably explained that the belongings which Tehenwet's husband had given her either were in some way the rightful property of her father or were not actually included in the property which he was giving his new wife.

Most of the rest of the first column of Text B was probably devoted to detailed instructions regarding the transfer of property to Senebtisy and her children, present or future (cf. *P. Kah.* 11-12; *Urk.* iv, 1067 ff.). The children, who, as just implied, were perhaps yet to be born, are referred to at the end of Line 15 ($[h]n \cdot hr dw$) and possibly earlier, at the end of Line 12. Senebtisy herself is mentioned by name over and over again with the careful repetitiousness characteristic of legal documents (Lines 8, 10, 14, [15], etc.), her name always preceded by the identifying phrase "my wife" ($ty \cdot i hmt$ in Line 1, $hmt \cdot i$ thereafter). I can make nothing reasonable out of the four faded signs at the end of Line 6. In Line 7, however, there seems to be a reference to some (official?) action performed by "the son of the vizier" — a reference which acquires potential significance when it is recalled that a son of the Vizier Ankhu served as his father's scribe and functioned on at least one occasion as his official representative in Upper Egypt.⁴²³ Special significance might also be attached to the word srw , at the end of Line 9, for this was the title frequently used to designate the members of Egypt's judiciary bodies ($d \cdot d \cdot t$, $knbt$), before whom civil disputes, such as the one between Tehenwet and her father, were tried.⁴²⁴ Like

421. On this see above, Chapter III, 2, and footnote 309.

422. Lacau, *Op. cit.*, 15, and *Urk.* iv, 1070, 4.

423. See above, Chapter II, 6, and footnote 251.

424. See especially Cairo J.52453, Lines 7-8 (Lacau, *Op. cit.* 15). See also *Wb.* iv, 188 (13-14); Gabra, *Conseils de fonctionnaires*, *passim*; Seidl, *Einführung*, 23; Harari, *Contribution*, 19. 23. 64-5; *P. Kah.* 13, 23. 36; Kees, *Ägypten*, 219.

P. Kah. 12, 1-5, the first part of Text B may end with a date (Line 16). If what we have here is, in fact, a date and if it is correctly read as "Regnal Year 2, Month 2 of Prōyet, Day 1," then the drawing-up (or registration) of Text B would appear to have preceded the writing of Text C (Plate VIII) by only seven days. The reading of what is left of Line 16, however, is so entirely uncertain that in the final analysis of the text and the papyrus it will probably be wiser to leave this possible date out of consideration.

With Line 17 begins a brief, general description of the property involved in the transfer. This is seen to consist both of property owned outright by the originator of the deed and property, the ownership of which he shares with his brothers and sisters. The "catalogue" is accompanied here and there by indications of the sources of the various items and by instructions regarding their future disposal.

Mentioned first, in Line 17, is the (moveable ?) property belonging outright to the donor and at the moment in his possession (*ht·i ntt m·r·i*); then perhaps his cattle;⁴²⁵ and then, in Lines 18 and 19, his lands. The last include both fields given to him personally by his mother(?) (*ihwt m rdit n·i mwt(?) [·i]*). Cf. *Urk.* i, 2 [9]) and a share (*hrt*) in (the produce of ?) fields owned jointly by himself and a number of other persons, probably members of his family. As was the usual practice in dynastic Egypt the house of our man's father (Line 20) had been bequeathed, not to one, but to all of the latter's surviving children (*pr hrdw n it·i*);⁴²⁶ and the ownership of it was, or had been, shared by Senebtisy's husband with his brothers and sisters. Lines 21-22 evidently provided that, after all the brothers and sisters had "circulated i[n it]," or "frequented [it]" (*phr·n·sn i[m·f]*)⁴²⁷—that is, enjoyed the use of it during their lifetimes, it should pass to Senebtisy's children (*msw*), in the same manner (*[m] mtt*) as it had to the preceding generation of children, and to *their* children after them (*[msw]·sn m mtt*). The use throughout this text of two words for "children" (*hrdw* and *msw*) is interesting; and from the present context it would seem that, in legal writings, *hrdw* was used of actual, living children, while *msw* might designate children yet to be born. Elsewhere in Middle Egyptian texts there

425. The traces to the left of *m·r·i* suggest the ox-sign, Möll. *Pal.* i, No. 142 (Bulaq 18).

426. See *P. Kah.* 11, 21-2; Pap. Bulak 10 *verso*, 1-2 (Spiegelberg, *Studien*, 18); P. Turin 2021, 3, 2-3 (Černý-Peet, *JEA.* 13, 32, pl. 14). See also Brit. Mus. Demotic Papyrus 10026 (Matthe, *Ann.* 21, 265 ff.).

427. We find *phrw* with the apparent meaning "frequenter of," "denizen of," in the name of a steer of King Khufu on a block of relief from Lisht (Hayes, *Scepter of Egypt*, i, fig. 39). There are also several instances when *phr* means, not to "go round," but to "be" around, behind, etc. (Vog. *Bauer*, p. 161; *Leb.* 51; *Urk.* iv, 971; *Haremhab* 8; *JNES.* 5, 266 n. 117). Some notion of "residence," "occupation," and the like would appear to be embodied in such words as *phr*, "rural domain," "country house" (*Wb.* i, 548, 4; Vand. *Mo.*, p. 29), and *phrw*, "garrison" (*T. Carn.* 16).

is a noticeable (though by no means consistent) tendency to use *hrd* to mean a young human being⁴²⁸ and *ms* to mean an offspring.⁴²⁹

Lines 23 to 25 and the first half of Line 26 appear to deal with property (in the form of gold and silver ?) which, though designated for Senebtisy's children, was to remain in trust for them under her jurisdiction, making it necessary for them to appeal to her concerning it. It seems also to have been understood that a portion of this property would be set aside for Senebtisy herself and⁴³⁰ her husband in their declining years (*djt n it·n mwt·n m i[w . . .]*). The words following *r dd* in Line 24, down to and including the adverb *hn̄r*, "therewith,"⁴³¹ in Line 26, evidently comprise the petition to be made by Senebtisy's children, quoted verbatim, as indicated by the suffix *·n* in Lines 24 and 25 and the possessive adjective *py·n* in Line 26.

Toward the end, as in other deeds of this type (e.g., *P. Kah.* 12, 10-11), we come to the transfer (*rdjt pw*)⁴³² of the originator's human property — the servants whose destinies he controlled or the slaves whom he owned outright. Here, "in addition to⁴³³ my sixty⁴³⁴ whom I gave her previously,"⁴³⁵ mention is made of what appear to be two groups of people: (1) "my fifteen persons" (*tp·i 15*) otherwise unspecified, perhaps dependent relatives or old retainers; and (2) "my (ex-)prisoners" (*hntw·i*)⁴³⁶ who are now functioning "as my household-servants" (*m hnmw·i*).⁴³⁷ The latter, the number of whom is not given, we may suppose to have included some at least — and probably all — of the servants named in the list which precedes Text B. The words which catch the eye are, of course, *hntw*, "prisoners," and *hnmw*, "Household(-servants)." Are these not probably some of the *hntw* over whom the accountant(?) *Pry* of *recto*, Insertion B, Line 9, once had jurisdiction, and also the *hnmw* whom the petitioner of Insertion C (Line 6) requested be transferred from *Pry*'s possession to his own?

428. *Adm.* 4, 2; *Eb.* 49, 22; *Peas.* B 2. 120; *Gard. Egn. Gr.*, Exerc. IV, 1 (p. 48); Exerc. XVII (a) (p. 169, 3rd line).

429. *Adm.* 4, 3; *Pt.* 39. In the "d" columns of our list of servants, however, *ms* is certainly intended to denote a young and small person, in contrast to an adult man or woman.

430. Though there is no word for "and," the co-ordination between *it·n* and *mwt·n* is made evident by the repetition of the suffix (Gard. *Egn. Gr.* § 91, 1).

431. *Gard. Egn. Gr.* § 205, 1 (p. 156, nn. 6 and 7). As an adverb *hn̄r* is consistently used at the ends of clauses. Here it is difficult to associate it either as an adverb or as a conjunction with the words which follow it (*rdjt pw . . .*).

432. Literally "It is a giving . . ." The construction is presumably the infinitive used "as predicate in the sentence with *pw*" (Gard. *Egn. Gr.*, § 298, p. 223, n. 4).

433. *M wsh hr . . .* (*Wb.* i, 254, 12).

434. *P[ry]·i 60*. See Gard. *Egn. Gr.* § 261, p. 193 and n. 6.

435. *Sp tp[y]*, "the first time," "(on) the first occasion" (*Wb.* iii, 437, 15).

436. On *hntw* (<*hn̄rw*) see above, Chap. III, 2, and footnote 299.

437. On *hnmw* see above, Chap. III, 2, and footnote 328.

Our text, like others of its class,⁴³⁸ ends with a statement (Lines 29-31) concerning the drawing-up, registration, and sealing of the document itself—a statement evidently designed to emphasize the authenticity and legality of the whole transaction. The usually non-enclitic particle *ist* (Gard. *Egn. Gr.* §§ 231, 248) adds emphasis to the sentence “Now, I have given to [this, my wife,] a (deed of) gift . . .” (*iw ist rdi·n·i n [hmt·i tn] rwt*). The here apparently masculine noun *rwt*, “gift,” “deed of gift,” has been discussed above in association with the fuller writing(?), *rwt-drt* (Chap. V, 1, footnotes 396 and 397). *Ir* seems to be a perfective passive participle without the customary *y*-ending. Though the common phrase *m nty*, *m ntt*, “like him who . . .,” “according to what . . .,” “such as . . .,”⁴³⁹ is not out of place here, the whole construction *ir m ntt hr dit* (Lines 29-30) is peculiar. *Dit* is presumably an infinitive in a pseudo-verbal construction after the preposition *hr* and the relative adjective *ntt* (Gard. *Egn. Gr.* § 328), the difficulty being that *hr*-plus-infinitive rarely, if ever, is used with the passive meaning which we obviously have here. The sense, however, is relatively clear, and appears to be that the deed has been drawn up in the prescribed legal form suitable for filing in or registering with the office of the town-clerk (*h n whmw*)⁴⁴⁰ of [Thebes (*niwt rs(y)t*)], and that in the case of the original document this, in fact, has been done. Final legal validity was given the original by sealing it⁴⁴¹—presumably in the presence of the *whmw* of Thebes or other appropriate official—and it became a “sealed document,” or “(formal) contract,” (*htm[t]*), “having upon it the seal” (*hr htm*),⁴⁴² not only of its originator, but also of its consignee. This probably meant that the sheet of papyrus on which the original of our deed was written was rolled or folded up, tied around the middle with cord, and sealed over the knot of the cord with a lump of mud which both husband and wife stamped—perhaps in several places—with their personal scarabs or other seals.⁴⁴³ As beneficiary of the deed, the wife, Senebtisy, was certainly provided with a copy of it, probably accompanying a list of the most important property assigned; and it is this copy, or its remains, that I am inclined to believe we now have before us.

Except for the rather surprising absence of a list of witnesses⁴⁴⁴ our deed shows many points in common not only with the *imyt-pr* of the Middle and early New Kingdoms,⁴⁴⁵ but also with the marriage settlements and related documents of later

438. Cairo 34016, 19-20 (*Urk.* iv, 1070, 9 ff.); P. Turin 2021, 4, 1-3 (Černý-Peet, *JEA.* 13, 33. 37). See Seidl, *Einführung*, 23 ff.

439. *P. Kah.* 22, 5; Cairo 20003; *Urk.* iv, 352. 1109; *Adm.* 2, 2 (see Gard. *Egn. Gr.* §§ 199, last ex.; 333; 334, 3rd ex.; 351; 400; and Exerc. XXX, iii [pp. 362-3]).

440. On this office see above, Chap. III, 2, and footnotes 301-305.

441. See Seidl, *Einführung*, 22-24.

442. Gard. *Egn. Gr.* § 169, 9 (Cairo 20056; *Westc.* 11, 24); see also § 165.

443. See *JNES.* 10, 165-6.

444. See Seidl, *Einführung*, 22 ff.

times.⁴⁴⁵ It appears, however, not to have been a marriage settlement; for, though it provides for the transfer of all or a large part of a man's property to a woman who seems to have been his second wife, it is clear from Line 28 that an important gift had already been made by the same man to the same wife on a previous occasion. Nor does it seem to have been a will, or testament, in the strict sense of the term; for, though its aim was certainly to provide for the future of Senebtisy, her children, and even her grandchildren (see Line 22), the transfer of property is nowhere stated — or in any way implied — to be conditional upon the donor's death, senility,⁴⁴⁷ or other striking change in his status quo. From its precise nature and the use in it (Line 29) and in connection with it (Text C 1) of the expressions *rw* and *rw-drt* it appears, as already inferred, to be a document formally recording and legalizing a gift of property made by a man during his own lifetime to his wife and to their children, actual or prospective — in other words, a deed of gift. Though the gift seems to have included all or most of the donor's property, he might, as Senebtisy's husband, continue to administer and enjoy the use of this property during his lifetime or for as long as his marriage to its new owner was not dissolved.⁴⁴⁸ From the amount of property which Senebtisy received and from the modesty of the daughter Tehenwet's claim (Lines 3-4) it is clear that the later, New Kingdom law, which seems to have assigned two-thirds of a man's possessions to the children of his first marriage, leaving only one-third for his second wife,⁴⁴⁹ was not yet in force.

From the point of view of the general continuity of the papyrus, interest in this deed centers in Lines 26-27. These, as already noted, seem to contain the legal record of the donation to the woman Senebtisy of the servants named in the preceding list.

3. TEXT "C" (PLATES VIII-X)

Confirmation that the gift just referred to was actually made is found in Text "C," a docket inserted in two and a third vertical columns in the narrow interstices between the first four sections of the list itself. The fact that Text C was an insertion, added after all the rest of the texts on the *verso* had been written, is further attested

445. See above, the beginning of this section and footnote 408.

446. Pap. Turin 2021 (Černý-Peet, *JEA*. 13, 30-39, pls. 13-15; Černý, *Bull.* 37, 41-48; Seidl, *Einführung*, 28. 56. 59); Statue inscription, Louvre E.11673 (de Linage, *Bull.* 38, 217-34, pls. 24-25); "The Will of Naunakhte and Related Documents" (Černý, *JEA*. 31. 29-53, pls. 8-12); Pap. Rylands X, 3 (Bakir, *Slavery*, 64).

447. If, in Line 25, there is mention of the old age (*l[w]*?) of Senebtisy and her husband it is a reference, not to a present or imminent condition, but to one well ahead in the future.

448. Seidl, *Einführung*, 56.

449. P. Turin 2021 (Černý-Peet, *JEA*. 13, 32. 36. 39; Černý, *Bull.* 37, 42; Seidl, *Einführung*, 28. 56. 59).

by its date and, as we shall see, by its content. Using Text A to help interpret the traces remaining in its second column (Plates IX-X) we may read this final entry in the Brooklyn papyrus as follows:

- C 1. "These are her people, being a gift (of) Regnal Year 2, Month 2 of .?., Day 8, in the time of
C 2. [the Majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egyp]t, Sekhemrēr Sewadj[t]-owy, the Son of [Rēr, Sobkhotpe, may he live forever and ever!]
C 3. the serv[ants] whom th[ey?] transported."

According to the rules of the predicate-*pw*-subject construction we should probably read here, "Her people are these . . ." (Gard. *Egn. Gr.* §§ 130; 474, 3; Exercise XIV [5]); but see Gard. *Egn. Gr.* § 190, 1 (p. 144, top) = *Eb.* 103, 9, cf. 103, 6. The pronoun *nj* clearly refers to the people named in the surrounding list and the suffix *•s* after *rmj* equally clearly to the woman Senebtisy, the "consignee" of Text B. This, in turn, tends to equate *wt*, "gift," of Text B (Line 29) with *wt-drt* here. It is interesting to note that *wt-drt* is used both for the official grant made by order of the pharaonic government to Senebtisy's husband (Text A) and for the formal, though private, gift subsequently made by this man to his wife. It is tempting, in view of the questionable remains in Line 16 of Text B, to restore the "season" in the date of C 1 as [*prt*], though [*ht*] or [*šmw*] is, of course, equally possible. May we attribute the unorthodox, horizontal writing of the day-numeral "8" to the fact that the date as a whole is written vertically?

In place of the preposition *hr*, "under," in the date of Text A (Lines 3-4) we find in C 1 the much longer expression *m hꜣw n*, "in the time of" (*Wb.* ii, 478, 7 ff.). Like the exaggeratedly full writing of the praenomen of the king in C 2, this may have been used primarily as "padding" to fill out the column and extend the docket as a whole as far back into the list as possible. However that may be, it is worth noting that *hꜣw*, "(of) the time (of)," appears to have been used in dates only during the Second Intermediate Period. *Wb.* gives no examples; and the three that I know of are confined to dates in the reigns of Merhotepēr Ini of the late XIIth Dynasty,⁴⁵⁰ Sewadjenrēr Nebirierau I of the XVIIth Dynasty,⁴⁵¹ and an unidentified king whose reign is to be placed about "midway between the Twelfth and the Eighteenth Dynasties."⁴⁵² For the exact phrase *m hꜣw n* employed, as here, in a date I can find no parallel.

Nor can I for the writing of the throne-name of Sobkhotpe III as transcribed in Plate IX A, C 2. The presence of this king's praenomen early in the column seems, however, a foregone conclusion; and the remaining traces suggest the transcription given. It should be noted that the *w* (G 43), *ḏ* (I 10), and determinative (Y 1) of *swḏ*

450. Cairo J.52453, Lines 20, 23, 25 (Lacau, *Stèle juridique*, 35, 39, 40).

451. *Ibid.*, Lines 15 and 16 (Lacau, *Op. cit.*, 27, 30).

452. P. Berlin 10470, I, 9: Gardiner (apud Smither), *JEA.* 34, 33-4, pl. 7.

(in *Swid-twy*) do not appear in the photograph of Plate IX, but at the extreme right edge of Plate X.

The transportation (by water?) mentioned at the end of C 3 (Plate X) is probably the same one referred to twice in Text A (Lines 5 and 6). At the beginning of the column we seem to have the remains of the word *bik[w]*, "servants" (*Wb. i*, 429-30). Used alike of the lowliest slaves and the king's greatest officials, this word elsewhere is clearly simply a general term for those who serve, or function as servants,⁴⁵³ and not the designation of a specific class of servant.⁴⁵⁴ Here it evidently refers to the Asiatic and Egyptian serving people listed in the adjacent columns, whom we find described more specifically elsewhere in our texts as male and female "slaves(?)" (*hm-nsw* and *hmt*), male and female "Asiatics" (*im* and *imt*), "prisoners" (*hntw*), and "household (servants)" (*hnmw*).

So far as we are concerned the history of the servants referred to on the *recto* of our papyrus and listed on the *verso* ends with Texts B and C which together constitute a clear statement that in Regnal Year 2 of King Sobkhotpe III of the XIIIth Dynasty these people became the property of a woman named Senebtisy, perhaps the wife of the Theban Overseer of Fields H₃ankhef mentioned in Papyrus Bulak 18. As the ultimate beneficiary of the papyrus it is exceedingly probable that Senebtisy was also its last ancient owner and that, as one of her most important personal papers, it was buried with her in her tomb in western Thebes.⁴⁵⁵

453. "Comme nom d'hommes, il s'applique à tous travailleurs, libre ou non, qui font quelque chose pour autrui" (Baillet, *Rec.* 27, 207).

454. In their otherwise valuable discussions of the term both Seidl (*Einführung*, 42-3) and Bakir (*Slavery*, 15-22, 65, 104) tend to so classify it.

455. See above, Chap. I, 4.

VI. GENERAL COMMENTS

Because of the wide range of subjects and activities touched upon by the Brooklyn papyrus and the many problems which it opens up and often leaves unsolved or but half solved the opportunities for general comment and discussion in connection with it are practically boundless. It is hoped that those who specialize in the social, economic, legal, and political aspects of ancient civilizations may find the document of sufficient interest to subject it to a searching re-study, and it is believed that any final commentary on it must necessarily be written by such specialists. Meanwhile, by way of a conclusion to this preliminary study, let us consider briefly the significance, if any, of the papyrus *as a whole* and attempt to co-ordinate in three general summaries some of the more important items of information which it has to offer us on the life and history of the Egyptians of the late Middle Kingdom.

1. THE NATURE AND PURPOSE OF THE PAPYRUS

The first and perhaps the soundest feeling that one has regarding Papyrus Brooklyn 35.1446 is that it consists simply of some seven odd feet of ancient writing paper used from time to time between the late XIIth and mid-XIIIth Dynasties by various Theban scribes to draw up the originals or jot down copies of a number of different and possibly unrelated administrative and legal documents — a portion of a “criminal register,” an administrative letter, two royal decrees, a list of servants with captions recording changes in their owners, and a deed of gift drawn up by a private citizen in favor of his wife.

As we study the document we find, however, that its texts fall into two main groups: (1) the criminal register of the late XIIth and early XIIIth Dynasties⁴⁵⁶ (*recto*, Lines 1-80), with which belongs the administrative letter of Amenemhêt III(?)’s 36th Year (*recto*, Insertion A); and (2) the mid-XIIIth Dynasty entries, including all the texts on the *verso* and Insertions B and C of the *recto*.

The purpose of the latter series of texts and hence the ultimate purpose of the greater part of the papyrus was apparently to establish the right of a woman named Senebtisy to the ownership of ninety-five household servants, the list of whom occupies most of the back of the manuscript (*verso*, Lines 1-95).

456. Though Columns a-d of the register were written during the reign of Amenemhêt III(?), it is probable that some at least of entries e-g run down into the XIIIth Dynasty (see above, Chap. I, 2 and 3).

This seems to have been done, in typical Egypto-legal fashion,⁴⁵⁷ first by a written statement (*verso*, Text C) asserting that the servants are the woman's property, having become so by deed of gift in the second year of the reign of King Sobkhotpe III; second, by citing the deed of gift referred to (*verso*, Text B), which legalizes the transfer of the servants (and other property) from her husband's ownership to hers; third, by a statement testifying to the fact that her husband, in turn, acquired rightful ownership and possession of the servants in Year 1 of Sobkhotpe III after having made petition for them, presumably to the pharaonic government (*verso*, Text A); fourth, by citing a royal decree, dated to Year 6 of Sobkhotpe III's predecessor, in which the king approves the petition of a Theban official (presumably Senebtisy's husband) requesting that a group of household servants formerly owned or controlled by a malefactor named Pay be transferred to his ownership (*recto*, Insertion C); and fifth, by quoting a slightly earlier decree establishing the fact that the said Pay had by malfeasance in his office of Accountant in Charge of(?) Prisoners opened himself to investigation and punishment (*recto*, Insertion B).

This would seem to be as far back in the papyrus as we can carry the already long and at times tenuous chain of interrelationships between the documents. Probably we should be well advised to assume that the scribes who drew up the mid-XIIIth Dynasty texts just discussed simply used as their writing paper the back and portions of the front of a discarded section of the Criminal Register of the Great Prison, an institution to which the officials for whom they worked apparently had ready access.⁴⁵⁸ A cogent reason for such an assumption is the fact that more than sixty-five years seems to have intervened between the writing of the last of the "d" entries in the Register and the drawing up of Insertion B, the first of the later series of texts (see above, Chapter I, 3).

In addition, however, to the likelihood that Pay was attached to the Great Prison and that his accusers, Yebiyafu and [Hafankhef(?)], had official associations with it, there is just possibly another link between the XIIth Dynasty register of runaway statute-laborers and the XIIIth Dynasty list of servants, or, more specifically, the forty-odd Egyptian servants once named in this list. It has been assumed, I think correctly, that to have been reduced to a condition of permanent servitude these Egyptians, their parents, or their more remote forbears must have committed what in the late Middle Kingdom were regarded as serious, but not capital, offenses against the state.⁴⁵⁹ Now, precisely this kind of offense — the act of absconding to avoid ful-

457. Commenting on a slightly later document, P. Berlin 10470, Gardiner (*JEA*. 34, 34) has remarked, "We should note the scrupulous care with which all relevant official records — all the *pièces justificatives* — are reproduced in *extenso*." See also *P. Kah.* 12 (p. 34); Lacau, *Stèle juridique*, pp. 39-44, 49-50; Seidl, *Einführung*, 22. 26.

458. See above, Chapter III, 2.

459. The possibility that they could have sold themselves into "voluntary servitude" (Bakir,

filling government-imposed labor obligations — seems to have been committed by the persons listed in the Register; and the punishment meted out to them to have been consignment to the government farms (*hbsw*) and labor-camps (*hnrt*) as permanent, unpaid workers, or, virtually, slaves. We know that such a state of servitude was inheritable and that the descendants of these unfortunate people would have continued in it for generation after generation.⁴⁶⁰ Remote though it may be, there is, then, at least a possibility that the “criminals” of the Register included the grandparents or great-grandparents of the Egyptian servants of the later list; and that reference to the record of their offenses and convictions was necessary to confirm the latter’s status as slaves and, hence, as transferable property. This, in turn, suggests that our particular section of the Criminal Register may have been selected by Senebtisy’s scribes, not haphazardly, but because it contained the “pedigrees,” so to speak, of the Egyptian servants who had, or were about to, become her property.

Only if we accept this or some similarly tenuous association between its earlier and later texts can we attribute to the papyrus as a whole any unity of purpose. Otherwise, what we have before us is simply a length of late XIIth Dynasty papyrus used originally for drawing up part of “the Criminal Register which is in the Great Prison” at Thebes and re-used in the middle of the XIIIth Dynasty for assembling and setting down the copies of a series of interrelated administrative and legal documents indicative of a woman’s right to the ownership of her servants.

Actually it makes very little difference which was the case, for the interest of the papyrus lies not in its unimportant main theme, but in the many items of incidental information which it contains on the life and history of its times.

2. THE CLASSES OF LABOR MENTIONED

In the course of our inspection of the *recto* and *verso* of P. Brooklyn 35.1446 we have encountered — beside some of the rulers and officials of Egypt’s late Middle Kingdom — groups of ordinary people at several different social and economic levels and in several different conditions of obligation and servitude.

The “a” entries of the Criminal Register (*recto*, Lines 1-80) have introduced us to seventy-six residents of southern Upper Egypt who, though evidently members of a lower stratum of Egyptian society, appear to have started life neither as slaves nor as serfs, but as free-born and relatively independent citizens of the towns, estates, and rural districts in which they lived. Since as a class such people, being for the most part illiterate and of little historical or cultural importance, are not well documented

Slavery, 9 and 119) seems remote at this period. We may note, too, that each of the men is referred to as a “king’s servant,” “crown slave” (*hm-nsu*), a term which implies that their servitude was government- (not self-) imposed (see above, Chap. IV, 1, “The Egyptians”).
460. Bakir, *Slavery*, pp. 117, 122.

from any period of ancient Egyptian history,⁴⁶¹ it is worth reviewing briefly what our present texts have to tell us of them. As already remarked, their relatively low position on the social scale is indicated by the facts that with one insignificant exception they bear no titles or designations of profession, seem often not to have known the names of their fathers, and appear to have remained, up until the times they ran away from their statute-labor assignments, in the immediate neighborhoods in which they were born. On the other hand, though not "free" in our sense of the word,⁴⁶² these people were clearly not permanently attached to any other individual as servants nor to any landed property, government-owned or otherwise, as serfs. In the "b" entries of Lines 1-80 many of them are described simply as (residents) "of" or "men of" such-and-such towns, three appear to have been the adopted sons of prominent local officials, one was the doorkeeper of a granary, and one the tenant (*dt*)⁴⁶³ of an official of the national treasury. The entries in which others of these same people are associated with certain "ploughlands" (*hbsw*) or "orchards" (*? wꜥb-ḥt*) or with certain "Scribe(s) of the Fields" undoubtedly have to do, not with their normal occupations, but only with the recent assignments which they had illegally abandoned. The ways in which these assignments are referred to in the titles of the laws cited in the "d" entries of Lines 63 ff. suggest that they were of a special nature, government-imposed and of limited duration, and not regular, lifelong occupations of the persons involved. Normally, in the days before their fall from grace, it may be presumed that our seventy-six Upper Egyptian citizens worked "by contract" for employers of their own choosing and received for their labors recompenses which had been agreed upon in advance.⁴⁶⁴ Though to that extent "free," they were certainly, like the vast majority of the pharaoh's subjects, obligated either at regular intervals or when called upon in an emergency to labor without recompense, other than their bare upkeep, in the service of the state. Indeed, the very fact that, though of the laboring class, most of them do not seem to have been permanently attached to any sort of institution, such as the temple of a god or the estate of an influential official, would have made them particularly open to corvée.

This venerable institution, by means of which the rulers of Egypt maintained the country's irrigation system, harvested its crops, and erected its public buildings,

461. Wilson, *The Burden of Egypt*, 73; Frankfort, *The Birth of Civilisation in the Near East*, 90; Edgerton, *JNES*. 6, 158 ff.; Breasted, *History*, 168 ff. See also Dykmans, *Histoire économique et sociale de l'ancienne Égypte*, ii, 117 ff., and Pirenne, *Histoire des institutions*, iii, 454 ff.

462. See Frankfort, *Loc. cit.*

463. See above, note 92. The evident affluence and arrogant attitude of the *dt* Dhutynakhte in the Tale of the Eloquent Peasant indicate that this title is often better translated "tenant" or "vassal" rather than "serf" (Gardiner, *JEA*. 9, 7; Griffith, *P. Kah.* 10, 7 [pp. 27-8]; Vog. *Bauer*. 34-5). It is to be doubted it was ever used of outright servants or slaves.

464. See Dykmans, *Histoire économique*, ii, 252.

appears to have flourished in the Valley of the Nile from the earliest times until its suppression by the British during the closing years of the last century.⁴⁶⁵ It is referred to in royal decrees of the Old Kingdom as early as the reign of King Neferirkarē of the Fifth Dynasty (*Urk.* i, 170) and frequently thereafter. *Mḏd* and *hꜥ*, two early words for "forced labor," "corvée," occur in the Dahshūr decree of Pepy I;⁴⁶⁶ while in the New Kingdom we find the word *bḥ* used both of statute labor and the people impressed for it.⁴⁶⁷ Corvées in dynastic Egypt could comprise anywhere from a dozen to a quarter-million men⁴⁶⁸ and could include people from many callings and many walks of life including apparently even members of the priesthood.⁴⁶⁹ Though in the XVIIIth Dynasty and probably at other periods it was one of the duties of the vizier to initiate the more important seasonal work projects, the actual calling-out, or "raising" (*ṯs*), of the work gangs for these projects was in the hands of the local officials of each district.⁴⁷⁰ That these and other crown officials sometimes misused their powers of corvée, seized their fellow citizens for unauthorized undertakings, and in doing so resorted to press-gang methods is indicated by the wording of the charters of immunity issued by the kings to certain temples and other institutions, the staffs of which were exempted from this particular form of taxation.⁴⁷¹ Few of Egypt's population enjoyed such exemption and, in general, statute labor played such a prominent part in the earthly existence of the average Egyptian that he confidently expected to continue to be conscripted for it in the life after death. At about the period with which we are now dealing this belief led to important changes in the texts inscribed upon the *shawabty*-figures buried with the dead which, by virtue of these changes, now became substitutes for their deceased owners in the corvées of the Hereafter.

That our seventy-six Upper Egyptians had, from time to time during the reign

465. See Kees, *Ägypten*, 38 (also 23, 43, 47, 168, 231); Seidl, *Einführung*, 53; Bakir, *Slavery*, 4; Harari, *Contribution*, 27-8, 37-8, 63; *Ann.* 51, 276, 279; Frankfort, *Loc. cit.*; Edgerton, *JNES.* 5, 221 ff. 227-8, 230; 6, 157, 159; Wilson, *Burden of Egypt*, 83, 99, 272; Petrie, *Social Life in Ancient Egypt*, 22-3; Pirenne, *Op. cit.*, iii, 307-8; Dykmans, *Op. cit.*, ii, 232; iii, 235; Pflüger, *JNES.* 5, 265; Gardiner, *JEA.* 38, 25, 27.

466. *Urk.* i, 210 (4, 5); Wilson, *Op. cit.*, 99; *Wb.* ii, 192 (14) and 475 (7, 8).

467. *Wb.* i, 468 (8); Hayes, *Ostraka*, pp. 22 (No. 69) and 34, pl. 14.

468. Engelbach, *Ann.* 42, 193 ff.; Engelbach and Macaldin, *Bull. Inst. d'Égypte*, 20, 56 ff.

469. P. Sallier I, 7, 6-7 (also P. Anastasi II, 7, 6-7); Gardiner, *Bibliotheca aegyptiaca*, VII, 84-5 and 17; Erman, *Literature*, 197.

470. *Dav. Rekh.* pl. 27, Lines 24-25 (Text, p. 92). The procedure used in calling out the corvées was apparently similar to that employed in raising bodies of militia and was based on lists, or "numberings," drawn up by duly authorized government commissioners.

471. For relatively recent and somewhat divergent discussions of this subject see Edgerton, *JNES.* 6, 157, 219-30, and Gardiner, *JEA.* 38, 24-33. A list of the charters of immunity issued during the late Old Kingdom and early First Intermediate Period will be found in *JEA.* 32, 4-6. See also above, *recto*, Insertion C, Line 5.

of Amenemhēt III(?), been taken as statute-laborers by authorized government agencies, though not stated in so many words, seems clear. It is indicated chiefly by the association with what were evidently free citizens of expressions like *nn irt hnt·f*, "without performing his service" (Line 63 d), and *tšw[t] nt wšwš kš[t·f]*, "deliberate desertion of [his] labor" (Lines 64-70 d). Elsewhere the use of *irt hnt* as an expression for performing enforced labor of the type required of corvées occurs in P. Sallier I (7, 6) and P. Anastasi II (7, 6);⁴⁷² while *kšt* is the word used for this class of labor in the *shawabty*-texts just referred to.⁴⁷³ Since some of our statute-laborers were listed as "fieldhand(s)" (Lines 1 c ff.), others were assigned to "ploughlands" and "orchard(s ?)," and most of the rest to the supervision of "Scribe(s) of the Fields" it is evident that, whatever their normal occupations may have been (one, we know, was a doorkeeper; another, a woman), the duration of their service for the government was to have been spent, in typical fashion, toiling in the fields, either repairing or expanding the irrigation facilities or tilling and harvesting the crops. While so engaged they were presumably supported by the state and many of them seem to have been housed in labor camps attached to the nation's prisons (*hnrt*: see Lines 1, 3, 14, 15, 25-53, 54). The temporary nature of the service required of these people may be surmised from the fact that one of the penalties for abandoning it was *permanent* assignment to the government-controlled *hbsw*-lands (Line 57 d). Since during several relatively short periods of time all seventy-six of our corvéeed citizens did adopt the desperate expedient of running away, the labor demanded of them must have been cruelly hard or the conditions under which they worked intolerably disagreeable.

As a result of this ill-advised step their status automatically changed from that of law-abiding citizens to that of "fugitives" (*wšrw*) or "deserters" (*tšw*). It changed again when, having been adjudged guilty of one of five infringements of the criminal code, each of them was sentenced apparently to permanent servitude. Upon capture our erstwhile citizens were returned to the Great Prison at Thebes and, when not actually engaged in the labors to which they had been sentenced, were probably quartered within its confines or within those of provincial prisons associated with it. As part-time inmates of these institutions they and others like them would have been referred to as "prisoners" (the *hntw* of *recto*, Insertion B, 9, and *verso*, Text B, 27 ?), the title perhaps being used in much the same way as was our term "convicts" in the days when gangs of laborers from our penal institutions were extensively employed on the highways and other public work-projects.

How such "prisoners" of the state came to be "members of the household" or household servants (*hnmw*), of officials like Senebtisy's husband is not clear; but the phrase *hntw·ī m hnmw·ī* in Line 27 of Text B of the *verso* certainly suggests that,

472. Gardiner, *Bibliotheca aegyptiaca* VII, pp. 84 (17) and 17 (1).

473. Speleers, *Figurines funéraires*, pp. 84 ff.

on occasion, such a transfer could be made. Possibly Pay, the former owner of Senebtisy's servants, acquired them by purchase or gift or by some less legitimate means from among the "prisoners" committed to his charge (cf. Insertion C, Line 6, and Insertion B, Line 9).

Having discussed the possible stages of descent from free citizen to permanent servant we come now to the ninety-five Egyptian and Asiatic serving people listed on the back of our papyrus and to the interesting question of their exact social and economic status. The essence of this question is, of course: Can these ninety-five persons justifiably be called "slaves"?

The answer is probably "yes," though the criteria are a little hard to control. Having no way of knowing what precise state of servitude an Egyptian of the late Middle Kingdom might have regarded as "slavery,"⁴⁷⁴ we must fall back on a definition based more or less directly on Roman law, such as the one given by A. M. Bakir in his monograph on *Slavery in Pharaonic Egypt* (p. 7). Here a slave is defined as "a person owned by another in the same way as any other chattel, so that he may be used as his owner pleases and be disposed of by sale, hire, and so forth." Unfortunately we do not know for certain that the people named in our list were or ever could have been sold or hired out by their owners for a price — the crucial test, it would seem, of their status as slaves. Otherwise they conform quite well to the definition. Even if for the moment we leave Text B out of consideration, Texts A and C, which are essentially parts of the list itself, are sufficient to show that these servants were actually *owned* by at least two private individuals in succession and were transferred by "deed of gift" from one person to another exactly like any other kind of property. Text B clarifies the picture still further by listing, in addition to these "household servants" (Line 27), the other types of belongings involved in the transfer, to wit, moveable property (*ht*), cattle(?), fields, and a house.

From the point of view of their being real slaves it is important to note that the people listed on the back of our papyrus were almost exclusively domestic servants or artisans, and not praedial slaves, or serfs, attached to certain lands and transferable as property only with these lands.⁴⁷⁵ Other factors which tend to support the belief that we are dealing here with slaves are the designations *hm-nsw* and *hmt*;⁴⁷⁶ the fact that well over half of the people listed were Asiatics; the almost total absence of theophorous names among the Egyptians; and the listing of the children along with their mothers as if they too, by virtue of birth alone, were their owner's chattels.

474. Speaking of Egyptian antiquity in general Prof. John A. Wilson says in his *Burden of Egypt*, p. 187, "Slavery was not then the sharply defined and legally delineated category which it was in more modern times." See also Gardiner, *AZ.* 43, 43.

475. Bakir, *Slavery*, 7-8, 31; Seidl, *Einführung*, 42; Harari, *Ann.* 51, 276 ff.; Petrie, *Social Life*, 23. For an early example see the Metjen inscription: *Urk.* i, 3 (2) and 4 (2); Breasted, *Ancient Records*, i, §§ 171. 173.

476. See above, Chapter IV, 1.

Though perhaps not completely conclusive, the evidence which we have here for the existence of slavery in Egypt before the New Kingdom is more copious and more substantial than that previously known. From it emerges three facts which students of slavery during the Middle Kingdom have hitherto been inclined to doubt: (1) there were at this time large numbers of slaves in private ownership;⁴⁷⁷ (2) male slaves, though fewer than female slaves, existed in substantial numbers;⁴⁷⁸ and (3) enslaved native Egyptians were almost as numerous as imported foreign slaves.⁴⁷⁹

3. THE ADMINISTRATIVE AND JUDICIARY ORGANIZATION REFLECTED

As in a number of other documents of the late Middle Kingdom we catch glimpses in the present papyrus of the highly centralized and elaborately articulated administrative system developed, or reestablished along Old Kingdom lines, by the strong and able rules of the latter half of the XIIth Dynasty. Though the power of the pharaohs themselves declined sharply following the death of Amenemhêt III the system of government set up by this king and his predecessor, Senwosret III, seems to have survived the fall of the XIIth Dynasty and to have been maintained, in outward form at least, during the first century or so of the Second Intermediate Period. Some of the more informative documents referred to above date from the early or middle years of the XIIIth Dynasty (*P. Kah.* 9-10; *P. Boul.* xviii; Cairo J.51911), while others are even later, belonging in all probability to the period of the Hyksos occupation (Cairo 20378; Cairo J.52453; P. Berlin 10470).⁴⁸⁰ All reflect the existence, under the theoretically omnipotent figure of the king, of an intricate system of interrelated government bureaus, the whole directed and coördinated by the office of the vizier, to whom, as in the Old and New Kingdoms, all branches of the government and all crown officials appear to have been more or less directly responsible and with whom they were required to maintain more or less continuous liaison.

During the whole of the period covered by our papyrus and for some time thereafter the physical center of Egypt's government — the palace of the king, the headquarters of the vizier, and the offices of the heads of the departments (*wꜥꜣwt*) — appears to have remained at It-towy, the capital city and royal Residence founded

477. Cf. Seidl, *Einführung*, 42; Kees, *Ägypten*, 48, 169.

478. Cf. Bakir, *Slavery*, 81, 103.

479. Cf. Bakir, *Slavery*, 97.

480. On Cairo J.52453 and P. Berlin 10470 see above, footnotes 115, 309, etc. On Cairo J.51911 see *JNES*. 12, 31 and 37, nn. 5 and 38.

by Amenemhêt I thirty miles north of the entrance to the Fayyûm, in the vicinity of the modern village of Lisht. There can be no doubt that the capital was in this general neighborhood during the reigns of Amenemhêt III and his immediate successors when the main texts on the *recto* of the papyrus (Lines 1-80) were drawn up; and references to "the Residence" (*hnw*), clearly in the north of Egypt, are found in both of our mid-XIIIth Dynasty royal decrees (Insertions B and C). In one instance the man Pay, a Theban, is "to be brought to the Residence," there to be examined by the vizier (B, 11 ff.). In the other, the same Pay is designated as "he who is in the Southern City" (Thebes), while his opponent is differentiated from him by being referred to as "he who is in the Residence (City)" (C, 7-8). We may note also that copies of both decrees were "brought to . . . the Southern City," presumably from the office of the vizier at It-towy. For further indications that the Residence remained at It-towy throughout the independent régime of the XIIIth Dynasty see *JNES*. 12, 33-8.

In the XIIth Dynasty register on the *recto* of the papyrus (Lines 1-80) we find no direct reference either to the king or to the vizier. The dates of the "d" entries, however, are given, as usual, in terms of the regnal years of the reigning pharaoh, apparently Amenemhêt III. Since, as Edgerton has pointed out for the New Kingdom, legislation in ancient Egypt "seems to have been a function of the Pharaoh alone,"⁴⁸¹ the laws cited in these directives represent the will of this king or one of his predecessors in written and codified form. As for the vizier, it was probably he or one of his representatives in Upper Egypt by whom the directives were issued (Chapter II, 4). "Signatures" of the vizier's scribes, in any event, were required in the endorsements of the "f" entries before the cases concerning which the directives had been issued could be regarded as closed. From the fact, moreover, that the originator of the directives was in a position to order the release of persons held as security under the local court, or council (*djdt*), and to instruct the Great Prison to "execute the law" against the absentee fugitives, it is clear that he possessed, or had had delegated to him, authority of the very highest order.

Both king and vizier, on the other hand, figure prominently and in a most interesting way in the XIIIth Dynasty decrees of Insertions B and C. In these the vizier, chiefly in his capacity as head of the pharaoh's judiciary, is delegated by the king to deal with suits brought by two Theban officials regarding the activities and possessions of a fellow Theban. Specifically, the vizier is instructed to have the accused man arrested and brought to the Residence City, to conduct a formal examination of him with a view to prosecuting him for his misdeeds, and to have an order issued in favor of the plaintiff named in the second decree. The striking feature of both decrees is that the petitions cited were evidently not channeled, in normal fashion, through the office of the vizier, but were made directly to the king

481. *JNES*. 6, 155; see also 154.

— obviously without the knowledge of the vizier, since in both cases he had to be appraised in detail of their contents. It is possible, as suggested in Chapter III, that on both occasions the vizier was absent from the Residence city, though, from the wording of Lines 14-16 of Insertion B and Lines 7-8 of Insertion C, this would seem not to have been the case. The evidence is insufficient to justify the conclusion that in the XIIIth Dynasty the pharaoh was more readily approachable — and, therefore, a less formidable figure — than the vizier; but it does certainly indicate that at this time the king of Egypt, once an aloof demi-god, could be appealed to in person by his provincial officials even, it would seem, in matters of relatively little importance and of a more or less private nature.⁴⁸²

Under the king and the vizier Egypt's administrative organization during the late Middle Kingdom appears to have been generally similar to that of the New Kingdom as summarized for us by Professor William F. Edgerton (*JNES*. 6, 155): "The government service was divided in two ways, by type of activity and by geography. On the one hand, there were departments of the central administration such as the royal treasury and the royal granary which operated throughout Egypt proper and perhaps throughout the Empire. On the other hand, the country was divided into administrative districts each of which had its own organs of local government, though these were subordinate to the central government in every respect."

Of the "departments" (*wꜣrwt*) of the central government, the activities and jurisdiction of which extended over the whole of Egypt, the ones that have cropped up most frequently in our late-XIIth and XIIIth Dynasty documents are the Treasury (*pr-ḥd*) and the Labor Bureau, or, as it was called, the Office of the Provider-of-People (*ḥꜣ n dd-rmt*). In the present papyrus the Treasury is mentioned only in the title of the Steward Anḥurnakhte of Line 8 a and in that of the boat-captain Montuhotpe of Line 58 d of the *recto*. The latter's title, "Skipper of the Treasury" (*nfw n pr-ḥd*), is of interest as indicating that at this time, as at other periods of Egyptian history, the Treasury department maintained its own fleet of boats. The ancient title, "Treasurer of the King of Lower Egypt" (*sdꜣwty bity*), borne by the petitioner of Insertion C (Line 4) was evidently of an honorary nature, indicating that its bearer had been assigned the rank — though not necessarily the functions — of a chancellor.⁴⁸³

The nature and functions of the Office of the Provider-of-People have already been discussed in some detail (Chapter II, 4) and need not be reviewed. Surprisingly enough, this bureau figures only twice in our texts: once in Line 58 d, where persons

482. We should not entirely overlook the vague possibility that as a palace(?)-usher or judicial intermediary of some sort the Elder of the Portal Yebiyaru of Insertion B may have enjoyed special access to the person of the king. This, in any case, would not apply to the petitioner of Insertion C.

483. See Scharff, *AZ*. 57, 65; Borchardt, *AZ*. 28, 90-1; Drioton-Vandier, *L'Égypte*, 305.

destined for permanent labor in the service of the state are turned over, for processing(?), to the *hꜛ n dd-rmt*; and, again, in Insertion C, Line 6, where the same office (or its Theban branch)⁴⁸⁴ is requested to deliver to a new owner a group of recently confiscated household servants temporarily under its jurisdiction. It has been supposed, with some justification, that the "guard" (*sw*) who in Text A of the *verso* reports on the delivery of the household servants named in the surrounding list was an employee of this bureau. As noted in Chapter II, the Provider-of-People probably worked in the closest coöperation, on the one hand, with Egypt's prisons administration (*hnrt wr*, etc.) and, on the other, with the Office of Fields, or what might in modern terminology be called the Department (or Ministry) of Agriculture.

The last-named bureau, known at this period chiefly from *P. Kah.* 9, 11, and *Sebekn.* pl. 9,⁴⁸⁵ is represented in our papyrus only in the titles of some of its Upper Egyptian officials. In Insertion C of the *recto* we find the Overseer of Fields of the Southern City — possibly Hꜛankhef of *P. Boul* xviii, 11 etc. — suing for the house-servants of an ex-accountant of prisoners; and in the "b" entries of Lines 25-41 and 59-65 we encounter Scribes of the Fields in charge of groups of statute-laborers assigned to the farmlands (*hbsw*) and orchards (? *wꜛb-ht*) of various townships of Upper Egypt. The majority of the *hbsw*-lands themselves, being owned and operated by the state, came presumably under the supervision of the Office of Fields; and "the *wꜛt* of the *hbsw*-lands" referred to in Line 21 b of the *recto* must have been the subdivision of the department charged with the management of this class of lands. The fact that the *hbsw* mentioned in Lines 3 b and 11 b were in the care of "Stewards" (*imy-r pr*) suggests that these particular tracts may have been the personal property of the king or members of his family.⁴⁸⁶ As already remarked, the existence of a "Doorkeeper of the Granary of the *hbsw*" (Line 4 b) indicates that this class of property embraced farm units in excess of the fields themselves.

Grouped with the Overseer of Fields in Papyrus Bulak 18 we find the Commander of Soldiers (*imy-r mšꜛ*. Cf. our Lines 6 b and 10 b) and the Scribe of the Royal Archives (*sš ꜛ nsw*). If, with Drioton-Vandier (*L'Égypte*, 305), we recognize in these officials the Minister of Agriculture, the Minister of War, and the Minister of the Interior(?), we may — not unreasonably — suppose that, in addition to the departments already discussed, Egypt's central administration included a Department of War and a Department of the Interior. That the "prisons administration," which figures so prominently in our present papyrus, was a department in itself is questionable. Probably it is wisest to regard it either as one of the several activities controlled directly by the Office of the Vizier or as an adjunct of the Office of the Provider-of-People.

484. Called the "Office of the Provider-of-People of the Southern City" (Cairo J.51911, Line 17).

485. See also *P. Boul.* xviii, 11, etc. (Scharff, *AZ.* 57, 65; Drioton-Vandier, *L'Égypte*, 305).

486. Cf. Helck, *Unt.* 14, 43-54.

Beside the departments (*wꜥrwt*) concerned with the various types of governmental activities there were, from the second half of the XIIth Dynasty onward, three others charged with the administration of the provinces of Egypt and called, respectively, "the Northern *wꜥrt*," "the *wꜥrt* of the South," and "the *wꜥrt* of the Head of the South (*tp rsy*).⁴⁸⁷ It seems probable, as suggested in *JNES*. 12, 31-3, that the jurisdiction of the first two of these departments extended at all times over "those sections of Egypt which lay, respectively, to the north and to the south of the Residence" city, regardless of where the latter may have been. "When during the late Twelfth and, as I believe, the Thirteenth Dynasty the Residence was at It-towy, north of the Fayyūm, the territory administered by the officials of the Northern *wꜥrt* would have included the nome of Memphis and the whole of the Delta; while that which came under the jurisdiction of the Southern *wꜥrt* would have extended from the region of the Fayyūm all the way to Nubia. Owing to its great length, it apparently proved expedient to subdivide the Upper Egyptian territory into two administrative districts: the 'South,' or what we should call Middle Egypt, and the 'Head of the South,' " an ancient term for the southernmost section of the Egyptian Nile Valley (*Op. cit.*, 32).

Contrary to my statement in the article cited,⁴⁸⁷ there is no direct reference in our Brooklyn papyrus to any of these three main administrative divisions of the country. The "b" entries of Lines 1-80 of the *recto*, however, contain evidence for the existence in southern Upper Egypt of an extensive administrative district, centered around Thebes, in which, it seems to me, we may recognize without difficulty the late XIIth Dynasty version of the old "Head of the South." During the Old Kingdom and the Herakleopolitan Period the northern boundary of the region so designated apparently ranged from the neighborhood of Abydos in the 8th Nome of Upper Egypt to that of Kusae in the 14th Nome.⁴⁸⁸ According to the indications of our present list of place-names and that of the Ramesseum Onomasticon the northern boundary of the *Tp-rsy* appears to have been fixed in the late Middle Kingdom at a point a few miles down-river from Akhmīm in the 9th Upper Egyptian Nome (see above, Chapter II, 2). Its southern boundary was in all probability at the First Cataract, though the place-names preserved in our present list do not extend south of the gorge at Gebel Silsileh. Like the Treasury and the Labor Bureau, the *wꜥrt* of the Head of the South was, as we have noted, a department of the central government and, as such, under the over-all supervision of the vizier at It-towy.

487. A statement resulting from the incorrect reading of the group before *rst* in the rubric titles of Insertions B and C as *wꜥrt* rather than as *nłwt*. The error does not, of course, effect the general conclusions concerning the *wꜥrwt* arrived at in the article.

488. See Kees, *Beiträge zur altägyptischen Provinzialverwaltung*, i (*Nachr. Göttingen*, 1932) pp. 97, 101-8; Stock, *Die erste Zwischenzeit Ägyptens* (*Analecta Orientalia* 31), pp. 15-6, 47-8; Meyer, *Geschichte*, I 2, § 284; Griffith, *P. Kah.*, p. 21.

The district which it controlled, however, evidently looked to Thebes as its local administrative center; and it was perhaps here rather than in the Residence city that was located the headquarters of its principal official, the Reporter of the *wꜣrt* of the Head of the South.

In addition to those of the three principal divisions of the provincial administration there was a "Reporter" (*wḥmw*) attached to every important town of Egypt who made his office in the town itself and among his duties evidently included those performed by our present-day town and village clerks.⁴⁸⁹ It is not clear what organizational relationship existed between the *wḥmw* of the towns and those of the *wꜣrt*; but the former, like the latter, certainly functioned as the local representatives of the central government, received orders and other communications affecting the citizens of their towns directly from the Office of the Vizier, and were responsible for seeing that the information and instructions contained in such communications reached the persons concerned and, after being acted upon, were filed away for future reference. From the titles of Insertions B and C of the *recto* of our papyrus we learn, for example, that copies of royal orders issued to the vizier at It-towy concerning three citizens of Thebes were forwarded from the Office of the Vizier to that of the "Reporter of the Southern City," where they were evidently made available to the beneficiaries of the decrees and, incidentally, to the Theban scribe who produced the copies which we have before us (see above, Chapter III, 2). In Text B of the *verso* (Line 30) the Office of the *wḥmw* of the [Southern City] appears as a depository for deeds, contracts, and the like drawn up between citizens of Thebes and as the bureau to which such documents were brought to be registered and so acquire legal validity. In the well known scenes in the tomb of the XVIIIth Dynasty vizier, Rekhmirē, the *wḥmw* of the towns of Upper Egypt figure prominently among the provincial officials charged with the payment of taxes from their respective districts to the Office of the Vizier.⁴⁹⁰

Another provincial official whom we encounter frequently in the Rekhmirē scenes and inscriptions and, earlier, in texts of the XIIth Dynasty is the District Councillor (*ḥnbty n w*). The interests and activities of officials of this class — in contrast, perhaps, to those of the town-based *wḥmw* — seem to have been concentrated largely in the rural areas of their districts. Though in later times the *ḥnbty*-councils are known to us almost exclusively in their capacity as courts of law the duties of the *ḥnbtyw nw w* during the late Middle Kingdom and earlier New Kingdom were evidently chiefly of an administrative nature. From the XVIIIth Dynasty "vizier-texts" we know that, like the *wḥmw*, the District Councillors were obliged to keep in touch with the Office of the Vizier and occasionally received their orders directly from that source. In what remains of our Insertion A, however, we find the

489. See above, footnotes 301-304.

490. Dav. *Rekh.* pls. 29-35.

District Councillor Gebu(?) writing a letter apparently to the Great Prison at Thebes acknowledging instructions received from that institution in regard, we may suppose, to fugitive statute-laborers from the farmlands of his district (see above, Chapter III, 1). The letter, as we have seen, is dated to "Regnal Year 36," almost certainly of Amenemhêt III, and belongs therefore, like the other Middle Kingdom texts in which a *knbt* *n w* is mentioned, to the late XIIth Dynasty.

The co-existence at this period in the provinces of southern Upper Egypt of councils called *knbt* and councils called *dꜥdꜥt* (*recto*, Lines 31 b and 54-70 d), though not unparalleled, is interesting since it raises a question regarding possible differences in the identities and functions of the bodies so named. That differences did exist seems likely; for, in spite of the findings of Dr. Sami Gabra (*Conseils*, 38), it is difficult to believe that the Egyptians would at one period and in one locality have used in their formal records two totally different words to "designate the same organ." Both *dꜥdꜥt* and *knbt* seem to have been basically administrative bodies. Whereas, however, before the New Kingdom the *knbt* apparently confined itself to activities of a purely administrative nature, the *dꜥdꜥt* from the early Old Kingdom onward was frequently called upon to perform the functions of a court of law (see above, Chapter II, 4). By the late XIIth Dynasty it is possible that the *dꜥdꜥt* had become primarily a law-court while the *knbt*, which had existed side by side with it since Herakleopolitan times,⁴⁹¹ had remained primarily an administrative assembly. With the rise of the New Kingdom the *dꜥdꜥt* gradually passed out of existence as an organ of government, and its functions, judicial and otherwise, were taken over by the *knbt*.

From the "f" entries of Lines 1-80 of the *recto* we gather that, in addition to the control which he exercised through the regular provincial officials (*wḥmw*, *wḥrtw*, *knbt**yw*, etc.), the vizier was represented in the provinces by his own scribes, sent up country, no doubt, like the vizier's "apparitors" (*wpt**y*) of later times,⁴⁹² to act as his special agents and observers and to see that his orders were being properly carried out (Chapter II, 6). We know of at least one vizier's scribe who, in the late Middle Kingdom, was sent by his superior into Upper Egypt on a special mission of brief duration.⁴⁹³ It is also probable that Scribes of the Vizier such as those named in our "f" columns were resident in centers of population like Thebes for protracted periods of time.

Though under the Old Kingdom there may have been judges and other officials whose duties were exclusively judiciary,⁴⁹⁴ during the greater part of Egypt's dynastic

491. Vand. *Mo.* 41. 186. 187.

492. Dav. *Rekh.* p. 91, pl. 26 (Lines 9, 11, 17, etc.).

493. Louvre Stela C 12, Line 3 (see above, footnote 251).

494. Dr. Goedicke who has recently made an intensive study of Old Kingdom titles assures me that this was the case. See Harari, *Contribution*, pp. 15 ff.

history — to quote from Edgerton's remarks on the Empire — "it seems that judicial functions were usually performed incidentally, by men whose primary duties were administrative" (*JNES*. 6, 155). In the sentence which follows, Edgerton points out that judicial power, like administrative power, was "strictly authoritarian, from the top downward, from the Pharaoh to the highest officers of the state and from them to their subordinates."

In our two royal orders, Insertions B and C of the *recto*, we are permitted glimpses of the king of Egypt in his capacity as supreme judge receiving petitioners in person, finding in their favor, and then turning their cases over to the vizier for "processing," with general instructions regarding the actions to be taken. In these decrees we have expressions of the royal will in connection with specific and presumably non-recurring situations. In the laws cited by title in the "d" entries of Lines 1-80 (Chap. II, 4) we also have expressions of the pharaonic will,⁴⁹⁵ but in permanent and probably codified form, handed down perhaps from antiquity and covering in these instances offenses of standard and oft-repeated types. In both cases we have to do, ostensibly at least, with the sole legislative power and the highest judicial authority in the land.

The vizier's rôle, as reflected in Insertions B and C, resembles more closely that of an Attorney General than that of a Chief Justice. As director of the pharaoh's legal and judiciary organization it is the vizier who sets the machinery of this organization in motion to carry out the king's wishes in connection with the cases in hand. Although he is himself empowered to issue an order in favor of the plaintiff of Insertion C (Lines 7-8), he is nowhere required to act as a judge, his functions in relation to the accused Pay being, rather, those of a public prosecutor. We may note in this connection that in Insertion B (Line 12) it is the petitioner, not the king, who wants the accused man "questioned (*wšd*)," the pharaoh merely instructing the vizier to "have him brought under arrest" (Line 14) and to "take action against him" (Line 16; also Insertion C, Line 8).

Earlier, however, as the probable originator of the directives of Lines 1-80 d, the office of the vizier appears in its more familiar rôle, as a kind of superior court, reviewing the findings of the local *djdt*-courts and either confirming or emending them. In the "standard" directives (e.g., Lines 55-6 d) the issuing authority virtually instructs the *djdt* to release persons held as security for the absentee fugitives; and, perhaps as deputy for the pharaoh, reserves for itself the prerogative of pronouncing or confirming sentence against the convicted offenders — a more or less standard procedure in Egyptian criminal actions.⁴⁹⁶ It does so, however, only in conformity with the pharaonic laws pertaining to the offenses committed, citing the titles of these laws as its authority — a fact which, incidentally, indicates that the issuer of the directives was not the king himself, though one very close to him in the judicial

495. See Edgerton, *JNES*. 6, 154-5; Seidl, *Einführung*, 20.

496. See above, footnote 208.

hierarchy. The vizier's interest in the cases ended presumably when his scribes wrote them off in the "f" entries as "completed."

The ancient judiciary title, Overseer of the Six Great Mansions (or Courts), borne by the Vizier (Ankhu in Insertions B and C is discussed above, in Chapter III, 2; and the references cited in the accompanying footnotes (288-291) give a good general picture of the juridical activities of the vizier from the Old Kingdom onward. To these may be added, among others, Sethe's valuable commentary in *Die Einsetzung des Veziers* (*Unt.* v, 2) and Gardiner's translations (with notes) of the longer texts in the tomb of the Vizier Rekhmirê (Dav. *Rekh.* pp. 79-94).

Except for the title *knbtj n w* of Insertion A, Line 2, we find in our present papyrus no reference to *knbt*-councils, though they certainly existed in the late XIIth Dynasty as administrative bodies. At this period — to judge from the "d" entries of Lines 1-80 of the *recto* — the functions of district and departmental law-courts were still being performed, as in the Old Kingdom, by the *djdt*-councils. From our "standard" directives (Lines 54-6 and 59-70 d) the *djdtwt*, acting as courts, would seem to have taken the initial steps in regard to the runaway laborers by ordering their families seized and held as security for them; and subsequently to have been instructed by a higher court (that of the vizier ?) to effect the release of these "hostages." The *djdt* of Line 57 d had apparently passed judgment and actually pronounced sentence on the fugitive Montuhotpe, consigning him and his family "to the *hbsw*-lands . . . forever" — a sentence subsequently confirmed by the higher authority who issued the directive. As already remarked, the *djdt* of Line 31 b, whose Scribe of the Fields was in charge of a group of statute-laborers, may well have been acting in a purely administrative capacity.

Since the texts on the *recto* of our papyrus are concerned chiefly with criminal cases and criminal laws we are not surprised to find the prisons system and, in particular, the *hnrt wr* at Thebes figuring prominently in these texts. The principal texts (Lines 1-80), comprising the abbreviated case histories of seventy-six fugitives from corvées, seem in fact to be nothing more than a section of the *hnrt wr*'s criminal register. We have seen (Chap. II, 4) that, beside their functions as lock-ups and labor-camps, Egypt's prisons were responsible for carrying out the sentences handed down by her courts and were perhaps the seats of the criminal courts. Some or all of the *djdt*-courts referred to above may have been attached to or, at least, convened in the Great Prison at Thebes or in the local prisons of other towns of Upper Egypt. The Egyptian criminal code was perhaps called the *hpw nw hnrt*, "the Laws of the Prison," the latter including presumably the five examples cited by title in our directives. The fact that these directives, involving action by the *djdt*-courts, were addressed to the Great Prison suggests that, where matters of a criminal nature were concerned, this institution outranked or in some way embraced the courts referred to. If not actually a department in its own right the *hnrt wr* and its chain of subsidiary prisons certainly constituted during the late Middle Kingdom a very im-

portant and active branch of Egypt's juridical and/or administrative organization.

With the texts on the *verso* of our papyrus we leave the criminal activities recorded on the *recto* and pass into the realm of civil law. In Text A we have to do with a grant (*swt drt*) made to a private individual by the pharaonic government — a grant apparently decided upon by the king himself and arranged for in turn by the Office of the Vizier and the Office of the Provider-of-People (see *recto*, Insertion C, Lines 6-8). Texts B and C concern a similar gift of property made, however, by a private person to his wife and recorded in legal fashion in a document which we recognize as a "deed of gift" (Text B). At the outset of this document we find cited a (written) complaint advanced by the would-be donor's daughter. From the appearance of the word *sw*, "officials," "magistrates(?)," shortly thereafter we may guess that hearings in connection with this intra-family lawsuit were held before members of a *ddt*-court who presumably approved the donor's right to transfer the property in question to his wife and in doing so confirmed the legality of his deed. Whether the somewhat doubtful mention in Line 7 of a "son of the vizier" indicates that the office of that great official took an interest in the suit is a question which had perhaps better be left open. Further along, in Lines 23 ff., we seem to have reference to property to be held in trust for children by their mother, requiring them to "make petition" (*spr*) to her respecting its use.

From the legal and jurisdictional points of view much of the interest of Text B centers in its concluding lines (29-31). As Bakir (*Slavery*, 57) has remarked, "An Egyptian 'legal document' is only the written record, by a notary, of a legal transaction which was concluded by the parties orally in the presence of witnesses." In the present instance, although no witnesses are listed, the legality of the transaction may be presumed to have been established in four ways: by the decision of the *sw*-officials referred to above;⁴⁹⁷ by an oral statement of the terms and content of the gift made by the donor in the presence of the Reporter of the [Southern City]; by a written version of this statement drawn up under the supervision of the same official and deposited in his office; and by the formal sealing of this written statement, transforming it thereby into a "sealed document," or "contract" (*htmt*). Though the sealing also was probably performed in the presence of the *whmw* of Thebes, it was not his seal which was applied to the deed, but those of the two principals involved in the transaction, namely Senebtisy and her husband. This would appear to contrast sharply with the XVIIIth Dynasty regulation which specified that titles-to-property (*imyt-pr*) were to be sealed, not by the persons interested, but by the vizier.⁴⁹⁸

Whether or not the Reporter of Thebes acted in this instance as a representative of the vizier is not clear. His legal functions, in any case, seem to have been confined

497. See Seidl's comments on *P. Kah.* 13, 23, in *Einführung*, 23.

498. *Dav. Rekh.* pl. 27 (14), p. 92; Seidl, *Einführung*, 23.

to those performed nowadays by notaries and town clerks (cf. *P. Kah.* 12, 5; and *JEA.* 34, 32-4). Elsewhere there is evidence that town and district *whmw* also performed the duties of sheriffs;⁴⁹⁹ but that they ever functioned as public prosecutors ("accusateur(s) public(s)")⁵⁰⁰ is open to serious doubt. The military title, *whmw*, usually translated "herald," has been dealt with by Gardiner in *AEO.* i, 22* and 92*, and, more recently, by Faulkner in *JEA.* 39, 46.

On the whole our inspection of the Brooklyn papyrus has served to confirm our picture of the complex, highly centralized, and logically articulated governmental system already known to us from the Lahūn papyri, Papyrus Bulak 18, Cairo Stela J.52453, and other documents of the same general period. The features of this system which seem to me to emerge most forcefully from our present texts are the extent to which the activities and spheres of influence of the various departments of the government overlapped one upon the other and the efficient and apparently frictionless manner in which, for example, the Departments of Agriculture, Labor, and Justice coöperated with one another and with the officials of the provincial administration in the handling of problems and conditions germane to them all.

4. EVIDENCE ON THE HISTORY OF THE LATE MIDDLE KINGDOM

So far as the history of the late XIIth Dynasty is concerned our papyrus has little or nothing to contribute to what is already known of this well documented period. The "d" entries of the main texts on the *recto* bear dates in the 10th and 31st regnal years of a late XIIth Dynasty ruler who can hardly have been other than Amenemhêt III, and Insertion A is dated to Year 36, evidently of the same king (see above, Chapter I, 2-3). Since, however, we have long had year-dates for Amenemhêt III up to and including his forty-sixth year,⁵⁰¹ these new dates, though in two cases (Years 31 and 36) unparalleled, are historically of relatively little interest. Nor are the case-records of our seventy-six Upper Egyptian laborers, however interesting they may be from other points of view, of any general historical significance.

We have, to be sure, some additions to make to the already long roster of functionaries who held office during the reign of Amenemhêt III, namely: the Steward of the Treasury, Anhūrnakhte (8 b); the Stewards Sianhūr (3 b) and Amenco (11 b); the Commander of Soldiers, Hepu (6 b and 10 b); the District Councillor, Gebu(?) (Insertion A, 2); the *wcb*-Priest of This, Senbebu (5 b); the Skipper of the Treasury, Montuhotpe (58 d); and the Granary Doorkeeper, Iku (4 a-b). Except for the

499. *P. Kah.* 34, 37; *Dav. Rekh.* pp. 33 ff.

500. Harari, *Ann.* 51, 283.

501. Parker, *Calendars*, 68-9; Drioton-Vandier, *L'Égypte*, 629.

treasury-steward, Anḥūrnakhte, whose name and title appear on a stela set up by his son at Abydos (Cairo 20558) these officials do not seem to be known from other sources — not, at least, from sources readily controlled by indices of names and titles. The six Scribes of the Vizier named in the “f” entries — Amenḥo, Amenysonbe, Deduamūn, Nakhti, Shenenu(?), and Shenu(?) — have not been grouped with the foregoing because some of them, at least, probably lived and held office, not under Amenemḥet III, but at the very end of the XIIth or during the early years of the XIIIth Dynasty (see above, Chap. I, 2-3, and Chap. II, 6).

In contrast to the late XIIth Dynasty the middle decades of the XIIIth Dynasty are sadly lacking in historical documentation, and the few indications of a historical nature contained in our mid-XIIIth Dynasty texts, however slight and indirect they may be, are nonetheless welcome.

From the historical point of view the most significant facts which emerge from these texts would seem to be the following: (1) the royal decree of Insertions B and C of the *recto* were addressed to the well-known XIIIth Dynasty vizier ḥAnkhu; (2) in the decree of Insertion C ḥAnkhu is associated as vizier with a king who reigned for at least six years; (3) the handwriting and content of Insertion C indicate that it (or the original from which it was copied) was written shortly before Text A of the *verso*;⁵⁰² (4) Text A of the *verso* is dated to Regnal Year 1 of Sekhemrē Sewadjtowy Sobkḥotpe (III).

“The king” referred to in Insertions B and C, who occupied the throne for six or more years and had ḥAnkhu as his vizier, was, then, a predecessor, and probably the immediate predecessor, of Sobkḥotpe III. In the first section of Chapter V, above, it has been suggested that this king was Sekhemrē Wadjkḥaḥu Sobkemsaf (I), whose association with Sobkḥotpe III — apparently as a close and respected predecessor — is attested by numerous architectural elements from Medamūt and elsewhere⁵⁰³ and who, with the exception of Amenemḥet-sonbef at the beginning of the dynasty, was the only XIIIth Dynasty predecessor of Sobkḥotpe III known to have reigned for as long as six years.⁵⁰⁴ To the fifth year of this same king is probably to be assigned not only our Insertion B, but also the smaller manuscript of Papyrus Bulak 18, the pre-

502. See above, Chapter V, 1. Though the original of Insertion C would seem to have been a necessary precursor of Text A it is possible, as Posener has suggested, that our present copies of Insertions B and C were not added to the *recto* of the papyrus until after the *verso* had been fully inscribed.

503. Bisson de la Roque, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Médamoud* (1927) (*Fouilles Inst. fr. Caire*, V), 43-7, 137-142; *Rapport . . .* (1929) (*Ibid.* VII), 94-112; *Rev. d'Ég.* 5, 38; Weill, *Bull.* 32, 20-24; *Revue de l'Égypte ancienne*, 2, 163-171; *Rev. d'Ég.* 7, 189. For other interpretations of the same evidence see Stock, *Ägyptologische Forschungen*, Heft 12, 57-8; Drioton-Vandier, *L'Égypte* (3rd ed.), 328-9.

504. See the Turin Canon of Kings, Column VI, Lines 5-23 (Gardiner, A. H., *The Royal Canon of Turin*, final revised edition, Autumn 1952. [Oxford], 1953).

served entries in which cover the four months of the season of Prōyet in "Regnal Year 5" and include at least one reference to the Vizier ʿAnkhu.⁵⁰⁵

Although Gardiner and Černý in their most recent transcription of the Turin Canon of Kings⁵⁰⁶ have rejected the reading (S)wḏ-...⁵⁰⁷ after *Shm-R* in the prenomen of the "King ... Sobkhotpe" of Column VI, 24, there seems to be no reason to doubt that Sekhemrē Sewadjtowy Sobkhotpe III, whose position in the dynasty is well established on other grounds,⁵⁰⁸ was the king intended here.⁵⁰⁹ Sobkemsaf I, like several other known kings of the XIIIth Dynasty,⁵¹⁰ is not listed in the Turin Canon; but as the immediate predecessor of Sobkhotpe III he would fit in between entry VI, 23 (...-yeb[rē] Seth) and entry VI, 24.

In the larger manuscript of Papyrus Bulak 18 the Vizier ʿAnkhu is mentioned in association with a King Sobkhotpe who, on the basis of our present texts and other considerations, is probably to be identified as Sobkhotpe III (see *JNES* 12, 38-9). ʿAnkhu, then, would have served as vizier not only under Sobkhotpe III's predecessor (Sobkemsaf I?), but also under Sobkhotpe III himself.

Another predecessor of Sobkhotpe III with whom ʿAnkhu was associated as vizier was Nymaʿenkhaʿrē Khendjer II.⁵¹¹ This ruler, who, like Sobkemsaf I, is not named in the Turin Canon, is probably to be inserted in the list two places after his namesake, Woserkarē Khendjer I (VI, 20), between [Smenkh]karē, "the General," (VI, 21) and [Nefer?]ka[rē] Inyotef (VI, 22).⁵¹² If, however, we remove Sobkemsaf I from our picture and relegate him, as some would prefer to do, to the XVIIth Dynasty⁵¹³ there is the — to my mind, remote — possibility that Khendjer II was the immediate predecessor of Sobkhotpe III and, therefore, the king referred to in our Insertions B and C.

However that may be, the significant fact remains that ʿAnkhu held the office of vizier during the reigns of at least two and probably five kings of the mid-XIIIth

505. See above, footnote 279. See also Borchardt, *ÄZ.* 28, 66.

506. See footnote 504.

507. Though it is easy to be deceived by the small photograph of Farina, *Papiro dei re*, Pl. VI, it seems, under the circumstances, at least possible that the third sign in the cartouche of VI, 24, might have been intended as the wḏ-column (cf. VII, 5 and 7) and not as part of the kḏ-sign read by Gardiner and Černý.

508. See, for example, Stock, *Ägyptol. Forsch.* 12, 39, 56-60 ("Die Sebekhotepgruppe").

509. See Gardiner, *Royal Canon* (July 1952), *Notes*, p. 9 (6, 24*).

510. E.g., Seneferycbrē Senwosret IV and Nymaʿenkhaʿrē Khendjer II (Drioton-Vandier, *L'Égypte*, 314, Nos. 8 and 12).

511. Louvre Stelae C.11 and C.12. See Drioton-Vandier, *L'Égypte*, 314, No. 12.

512. On the proximity in time of Khendjer I and II see Drioton-Vandier, *L'Égypte*, 314 (Nos. 11, 12), 325-8; and on Nymaʿenkhaʿrē as the predecessor or co-regent of a King Neferkarē (= Turin Canon, VI, 22?), Hayes, *Scepter of Egypt*, i, 342.

513. Stock, *Ägyptol. Forsch.* 12, 57-8; Drioton-Vandier, *L'Égypte*, 328-9.

Dynasty,⁵¹⁴ none of whom appears to have been related to his predecessor by blood or other ties and most of whom seem to have occupied the throne for only two or three years. ʿAnkhu may have inherited the office indirectly from his grandfather, who appears also to have been a vizier; and it is certain that he passed it on to two of his sons, the Viziers Ressonbe and Iymeru(-Neferkarē), the latter of whom was a contemporary of one of the later Sobkhotpes (V-VII). The identity of his name to that of the second of these sons makes it not improbable that Iymeru, the son of Iymeru, who was associated as vizier with King Khaʿneferrē Sobkhotpe IV, was also a member of ʿAnkhu's extensive family — perhaps a nephew (see above, Chapter III, 2). Some thirty years later we find still another Iymeru inheriting the office of vizier from his father, Iy, who was a contemporary of King Merhotepre Ini.⁵¹⁵ Thus, it would appear that during the XIIIth Dynasty the viziership was a hereditary office, monopolized by the same family for generation after generation, and one of sufficient stability and permanence when in the hands of a capable official to survive a succession of changes on the throne.⁵¹⁶

Quite different is the picture which has come down to us of the contemporary kingship. During a period of more than a century the crown seems to have changed hands on an average of every two and a half years⁵¹⁷ in no case that we know of, passing from a father to his son. Indeed, under normal circumstances there seems to have been no family relationship between a king and his successor, the latter sometimes emphasizing this fact by including on his monuments the names of his non-royal parents and other relatives.⁵¹⁸ The exceptional instance of the brothers Khaʿsekhmrē Neferhotep I and Khaʿneferrē Sobkhotpe IV is more than offset by the fact that, though we possess elaborate genealogies of these kings and of their immediate predecessor, Sobkhotpe III, we search in vain for any overlapping between the two family groups.⁵¹⁹ Since it is absurd to attribute to usurpation and violence some sixty changes in rulers extending over a period of a hundred and twenty-five years or more, these changes must obviously have been effected on some other basis.

514. Namely, Khendjer II, Inyotef (*Tur. Can.* VI, 22), Sethi (VI, 23), Sobkemsaf I, and Sobkhotpe III (VI, 24).

515. Cairo J.52453, Line 20 (Lacau, *Stèle juridique*, 35-6).

516. A reversal of the situation during the XIIth Dynasty when we often find two and sometimes as many as four viziers holding office in the course of a single reign (e.g., Weil, *Veziers*, pp. 38-43, §§ 5-8).

517. *JNES*. 12, 38.

518. Hayes, *Scepter of Egypt*, i, 342-3; Weill, *Fin du Moyen Empire*, 411-455; Macadam, *JEA*. 37, 27; etc.

519. Wild, Habachi, and Macadam, *JEA*. 37, 12-28; Weill, *Loc. cit.*; Debono, *Ann.* 51, 81-2, pl. 15 (the list of Sobkhotpe IV's family on the back of this stela was copied for me by Mr. Cooney).

Over twenty years ago Dr. Hermann Junker, having arrived at much the same conclusion, suggested that during the XIIIth Dynasty the Egyptians may have instituted some sort of elective kingship ("Wahlkönigtums").⁵²⁰ Though anything like a popular election seems politically a little advanced for the eighteenth century B.C. it is, I think, not impossible that the kings of this period were appointed to the throne for limited periods of time,⁵²¹ perhaps by the viziers or by councils presided over by the viziers. Though the dignities, titles, and other formalities traditionally associated with Egyptian kingship were preserved, the governing power would, then, have rested, as at other periods⁵²² and in other countries, not with the titular head of the state, but with his prime minister. Some such situation may be reflected in our Insertions B and C where, in contrast to the usual practice, petitioners address their complaints directly to the king, who then informs the vizier of their contents. It is premature, of course, to adopt a theory which to some students of Egyptian history may well seem fantastic; but in the light of the existing evidence, Junker's suggestion, if not acceptable in detail, certainly merits our serious consideration.

On the basis chiefly of the first twenty-three entries in Column VI of the Turin Canon it has been estimated that approximately seventy years elapsed between the 31st year of King Amenemhēt III of the XIIth Dynasty (1812 B.C.) and the accession of King Sobkhotpe III of the XIIIth Dynasty (1743 B.C. See above, Chapter I, 3). In Papyrus Brooklyn 35.1446 our evidence on the interval in question is almost entirely palaeographical, and this, unhappily, is often deceptive where problems of chronology are concerned. It would seem, however, that the many changes and the very marked developments in Upper Egyptian handwriting which had taken place between the drawing up of the main texts on the *recto* of our manuscript and the list of servants on the *verso* must imply the passage of a not inconsiderable period of time — something in the nature of half a century and probably more (See above, Chapter I, 2). The differences between the Middle Kingdom hands of the earlier entries and the "proto-Hyksos" hands of the mid-XIIIth Dynasty texts can be studied to unusual advantage on the *recto* of the papyrus, where the two scripts occur side by side (Plates V and VI).

One final comment on the history of the early Second Intermediate Period is inspired by the forty-five Asiatic men, women, and children whose names are preserved on the *verso* of our papyrus and who appear to have been attached to the household of a single Upper Egyptian official. If, as seems likely, similar groups of these outlanders were to be found in well-to-do households throughout the whole of Egypt, then the Asiatic inhabitants of the country at this period must have been

520. "Die Ägypter" in *Völker des antiken Orients*, 104-5.

521. Relatively long reigns, like those of Neferhotep I (11 years), Yaryeb (11 years), and Iy (14 years), representing either re-appointments or extensions of the normal term.

522. E.g., the early First Intermediate Period (see *JEA.* 32, 23).

many times more numerous than has previously been supposed.⁵²³ Whether or not this largely slave population could have played a part in hastening or in paving the way for the impending Hyksos domination is difficult to say; but through intermarriage and the like it presumably would have had the effect of lessening appreciably the resistance of Egypt's population as a whole to an Asiatic overlordship.

523. See, however, Engberg, *The Hyksos Reconsidered* (Orinst. Chicago Studies, No. 18), 1 ff.; and, for a divergent opinion, Säve-Söderbergh, *JEA.* 37, 56-61.

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Ḥr-n-ḥ, Irenka, *ro.* 23 b; pp. 26, 31, 32
ḥm, Asiatic, *vo.* 6 a, 9 a, 12 a, 18 a, 19 a, 27 a, 51 a; pp. 30, 87-89, 92-94, 125
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ḥmt, (female) Asiatic, *vo.* 7 a, 10 a, 11 a, 13-17 a, 21-23 a, 25 a, 26 a, 29 a, 32 a, 33 a, 35 a, 37 a, 47 a, 52 a, 55 a, 56 a, 59 a, 61 a, 62 a, [64 a], 67 a, 69 a, 80 a, 87 a, [88 a]; pp. 87-89, 92-94, 125
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Gbtw, Koptos (Kuft), *ro.* 14-15 b; pp. 23, 26, 31
Grgt, Gereget, *ro.* 37 b; pp. 17, 26, 31, 46
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d) EGYPTIAN WORDS AND PHRASES

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rw-r, "present," "gift," p. 112
rw-drt, "gift," "deed of gift," *vo.* Text A, 2; Text C, 1; pp. 111, 112, 114, 122-124, 143
rb, "month," *see r rb* 6
rh(w)t, "fields," *ro.* 25 b, 59 b; *vo.* Text B, 18, 19; pp. 27, 29, 115, 118, 120, 133
rh n rh(w)t, "Office of Fields," p. 137
rl(?) or *lw(?)*, "come," "coming"(?), *ro.* 64-67 e, 73-78 e; Insertion C, 7, 8; pp. 59, 72, 84
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ln, "being brought," *ro.* 1-3 e, 9 e, 12 e, 31 e, 38-9 e, 42-5 e, 58 e; pp. 59, 63, 65
lr ... r, "take action against," "prosecute," *ro.* Insertion B, 16; Insertion C, 8; pp. 71, 72, 79, 82, 85, 141
lr(y)w, "the people thereof," *ro.* Insertion C, 8; pp. 72, 85
lrt hp r·f (·s), "execute the law against him (her)," *ro.* 54 d, 55-6 d, 63 d, 64-70 d; pp. 35, 47, 64, 79, 135
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lth, "prison," "fortress," pp. 41, 42
lth srl, "little prison," p. 42

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rt, "here," "present," *ro.* 4-8 e, 10 e, 25-30 e, 32-36 e, 46-57 e, 59-63 e; pp. 59, 64, 65
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rtky, "last day" (of month), *ro.* 55 d, 56 d; Insertion A, 1; pp. 35, 68
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wrt, "department," pp. 28, 29, 36, 54, 70, 77, 134, 136-139
wrt mht, "the Northern Department," p. 138
wrt rsy, "the Department of the South," pp. 29-30, 46, 138
wrt hbsw, "Department of the Ploughlands," *ro.* 21 b; pp. 26, 28, 137
wrt tp rsy, "the Department of the Head of the South," pp. 33, 54, 138, 139
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wht, "release," *ro.* 8 d, 54 d, 55-6 d, 59-70 d; pp. 35, 44, 45, 64, 65
wšd, "question," *ro.* Insertion B, 12; pp. 71, 82, 141
(w)dl(?), "put"(?), *ro.* Insertion B, 17; Insertion C, 8; p. 80
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wđ, wđwt, "order," "decree," *ro.* Insertion C, 7; pp. 35, 72, 78, 79
wđ-nsw, "royal decree," *ro.* Insertion B, 2, 4, 5; Insertion C, 2, 3; pp. 71, 72, 78

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bh, "corvée," p. 131
bt3, "run away," p. 91
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py·n, "our," *vo.* Text B, 26; p. 121
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pr-šnc, "ergastulum," p. 107
prl m tš, "desert," p. 42
pr-ε, "energetic," p. 107
pry, "champion," p. 107
phr ... *m*, "circulate in," "frequent," *vo.* Text B, 21; pp. 115, 120
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[m3] *dd*, "according as ... says," *ro.* 57 d; p. 53
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(m) mltt, "likewise," *ro.* 4-7 d; *vo.* Text B, 22; pp. 42, 115, 120
m mltt, "accordingly"(?), *ro.* Insertion C, 8; pp. 72, 80
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mdd, "forced labor," p. 131
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nb, "the master" (in letters), *ro.* Insertion A, 3; pp. 67, 70
r, "plot"(?), *ro.* 58 d; pp. 54, 57
r3bd 6, "for six months (or more)," *ro.* 55-6 d; pp. 35, 48, 50

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r dd, "in order to say ...," "saying ...," *ro.* 58 d; Insertion C, 5; pp. 54, 71, 72, 78, 80, 117
rm3, "people," *ro.* 37 d(?); Insertion A, 5(?); Insertion C, 5; *vo.* Text A, 5; Text C, 1; pp. 42, 46, 54-56, 58, 67, 70, 82, 111, 113, 114, 118, 124
rn·f pw, *rn·s pw*, "it is his (her) name" = "same name," *vo.* 2-71 b *passim*; pp. 87, 103
(m) rdl3 d3·tw n·i, "(in) causing that one give ... to me," *ro.* Insertion C, 6; pp. 72, 84
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(m) h3w n, "in the time of ...," *vo.* Text C, 1; p. 124
hb, "plough," p. 107
hp, "law," *ro.* [25-52 d], 54 d, 55-6 d, 63 d, 64-70 d; pp. 35, 47, 48, 51, 52, 64, 79, 141, 142
hp šmεw, "the law of Upper Egypt," p. 52
hpw nyw εrεyt, "the laws of the throne-hall," p. 52
hpw n(y)w hnrt, "the laws of the prison," "the criminal laws," pp. 38, 52, 142
hpw nyw hnty(w)-š, "the laws of the *hnty(w)-š*," p. 52
hrwyt, "journal," p. 52
hwt wryt (6), "the (Six) Great Mansions (or Courts)," p. 38
h3tyw (-cloth), *vo.* 10 c, 11 c, 13 c, 14 c, 15 c, 17 c, 21 c, 25 c, 26 c, 29 c, 37 c, 55 c, 59 c, 61 c, 64 c; pp. 105, 106, 108
hnε, "therewith," *vo.* Text B, 26; pp. 116, 121
hnε dd, "and saying ...," "further ...," p. 117
[h]nε dd·s, "together with her saying ...," "and saying ...," *vo.* Text B, 3; pp. 115, 117
hnw, "chattels," "belongings," *vo.* Text B, 3. 5; pp. 115, 118
hnt, "tasks," "service," *ro.* 63 d (*nn lrt hnt·f*, "without performing his tasks"); pp. 35, 48, 49-51, 64, 132
ht, "things," "property," *vo.* Text B, 4. 17; pp. 115, 118-120, 133
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vo. Text B, 30; pp. 55, 71, 72, 77, 82, 91, 116, 122, 139
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h) n dd-rmt, "the Office of the Provider-of-People," *ro.* 58 d; Insertion C, 6; pp. 54-56, 59, 72, 83, 85, 136-138, 143
h) n dd-rmt n nltw rs(y)t, "the Office of the Provider-of-People of the Southern City," pp. 55, 137
hbsw, "ploughlands," "farmlands," *ro.* 3 b, 4 b, 11 b, 16 b, 17 b, 21 b, 22 b, 23 b, 38 b; pp. 10, 25, 26, 27-29, 52, 53, 58, 129, 130, 132, 137, 142
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hny, see *hnrt*
hnw, var. of *hnw*, "home," p. 41
hnr, "restrain," p. 37
hnr, "harim," p. 41
hnrt, *hnrtw*, "prisoner," "prisoners," pp. 37, 76
-hn(r?)i, "-prison"(?), p. 41
hnrt "prison," "labor-camp," *ro.* 1 d, 3 d, 14 d, 25-53 d, 54 d; pp. 35-42, 48, 51, 52, 56, 64, 129, 132, 137, 142
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hnrt wr, "(the) Great Prison," "(the) Main Prison," *ro.* headings 1-24 d and 55-80 d; text 15 d; pp. 16, 19, 34-43, 45, 46, 48, 53, 56, 59, 62-66, 70, 76, 77, 79, 81, 85, 128, 129, 132, 135, 140, 142
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hntw, "prisoners"(?), *ro.* Insertion B, 9; *vo.* Text B, 27; pp. 71, 76, 77, 82, 85, 116, 121, 125, 128, 132-133, 137
hntš-tracts, p. 27
hrw·fy sw (sy), "so he (she) said," *ro.* Insertion B, 13; Insertion C, 6; *vo.* Text B, 4; pp. 71, 72, 79, 84, 115, 119
hltm, "seal," *vo.* Text B, 30, 31; pp. 116, 122
htmt, "contract," *vo.* Text B, 30; pp. 116, 122, 143
hn(i), "convey by boat," "transport," *vo.* Text A, 5, 6; Text C, 3; pp. 111, 113, 124, 125
hnw, "home," *ro.* Insertion C, 5; pp. 72, 83
hnw, "the Residence (city)," *ro.* Insertion B,

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hnmw, "members of household," "household servants," *ro.* Insertion C, 6; *vo.* Text B, 27; pp. 72, 83-85, 87, 91, 114, 116, 121, 125, 127, 132, 133, 137
hr, "people (of)," "household," *ro.* 58 b, 54 d, 55-6 d, 57 d; pp. 27, 29, 30, 35, 44, 45, 52, 53, 56, 64, 65
hry-hst (?), "(who is) in charge of"(?), *ro.* Insertion B, 9; pp. 71, 76, 77
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st, "woman," *ro.* 63 c; *vo.* 2-70 d *passim*; pp. 33, 108, 109
st, "son," *ro.* 1-40 a, 42-43 a, 55-61 a, 64-76 a; 3 b, 5 b, 6 b, 10 b; Insertion A, 6; Insertion B, 7; [Insertion C, 4]; *vo.* 1-71 a *passim*; Text B, 7(?); Text C, 2; pp. 19-22, 25, 26, 30, 67, 70, 71, 75, 87-90, 115, 119, 124, 130, 143
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(m) stw, "under guard"(?), "under arrest"(?), *ro.* Insertion B, 14; pp. 71, 82, 141
swdš-ib pw n, "It is a communication to . . .," *ro.* Insertion A, 3; pp. 67, 69, 80
spr, "petition," "make petition," *ro.* Insertion B, 6; Insertion C, 4; *vo.* Text A, 5, 6; Text B, 2, 23; pp. 71, 72, 78, 111, 113-115, 117, 121, 143
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snn, "document," pp. 35, 36
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[m] st(?), "[in] writing"(?), *ro.* Insertion B, 8; pp. 71, 81
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sdš, "pass away," "die," p. 117

sdm·n, "...has read...", *ro.* Insertion A, 4; pp. 67, 70, 79

šw, "free," "release," p. 45

šfd n ḥbnty, "the Criminal Register," pp. 40, 65-66

šnr, "ergastulum," p. 107

šnwt (nt ḥbsw), "granary (of the ploughlands)," *ro.* 4 b; pp. 25, 28, 130, 137, 144

šm, leather rolls (?), p. 51

šr (-cloth), *vo.* 7 c, 16 c, 22 c, 47 c, 65 c, 70 c; pp. 105, 108

šd·tw n·i, "let (it) be restored to me," "let restitution be made to me," *vo.* Text B, 4; pp. 115, 119

kn, "complete," "conclude:" *šw kn(w)*, *šw kn·tw*, "it is completed," *ro.* 1-80 f *passim*; pp. 60, 61, 63-65, 142

kn-sign (Aa 8), "completed," "case closed," *ro.* 1-80 g *passim*, pp. 63-65, 142

knbt, "council," "court," pp. 68-69, 119, 139, 140, 142

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tšw[t] nt wšwš, "deliberate desertion," *ro.* 59-70 d; pp. 48, 49, 132

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šs, "raise" (work gangs), p. 131

... *q(i)w(?) wdšw(?) lb*, ... "communicates" ("causes easiness of the heart"), *ro.* Insertion B, 17; Insertion C, 8; pp. 72, 80

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dmd, "complicity"(?), *ro.* 58 d; pp. 54, 57

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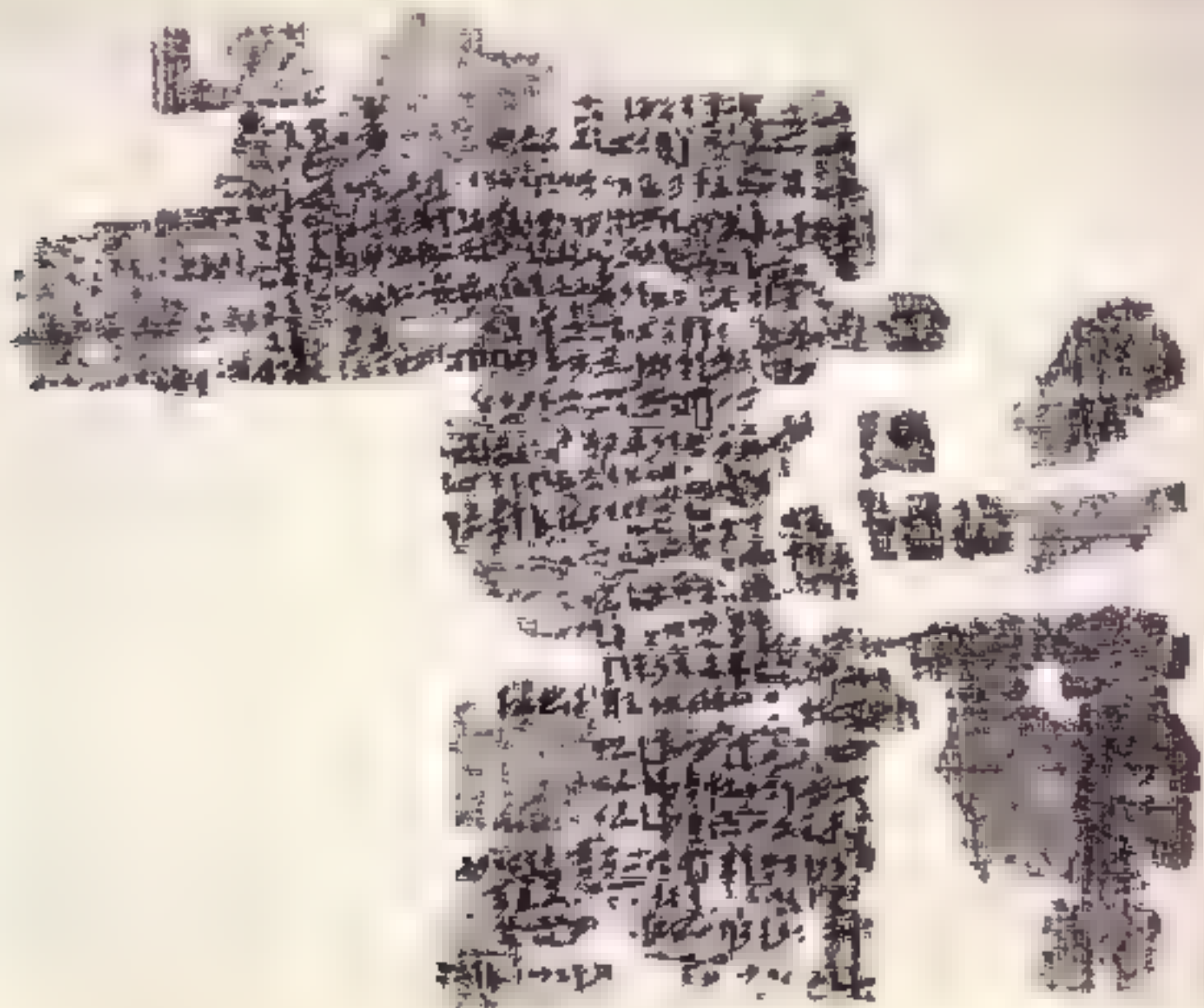
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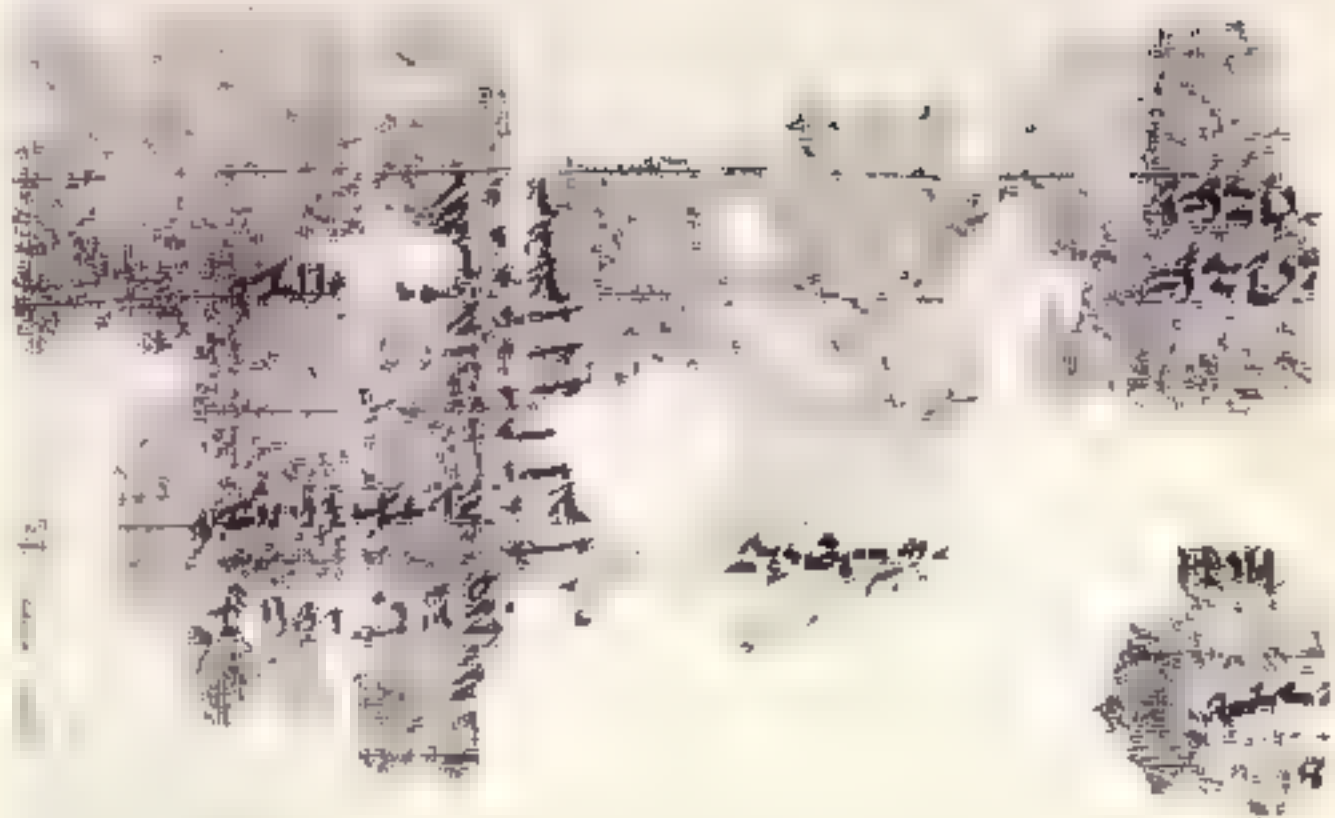
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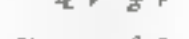














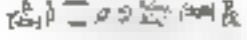










































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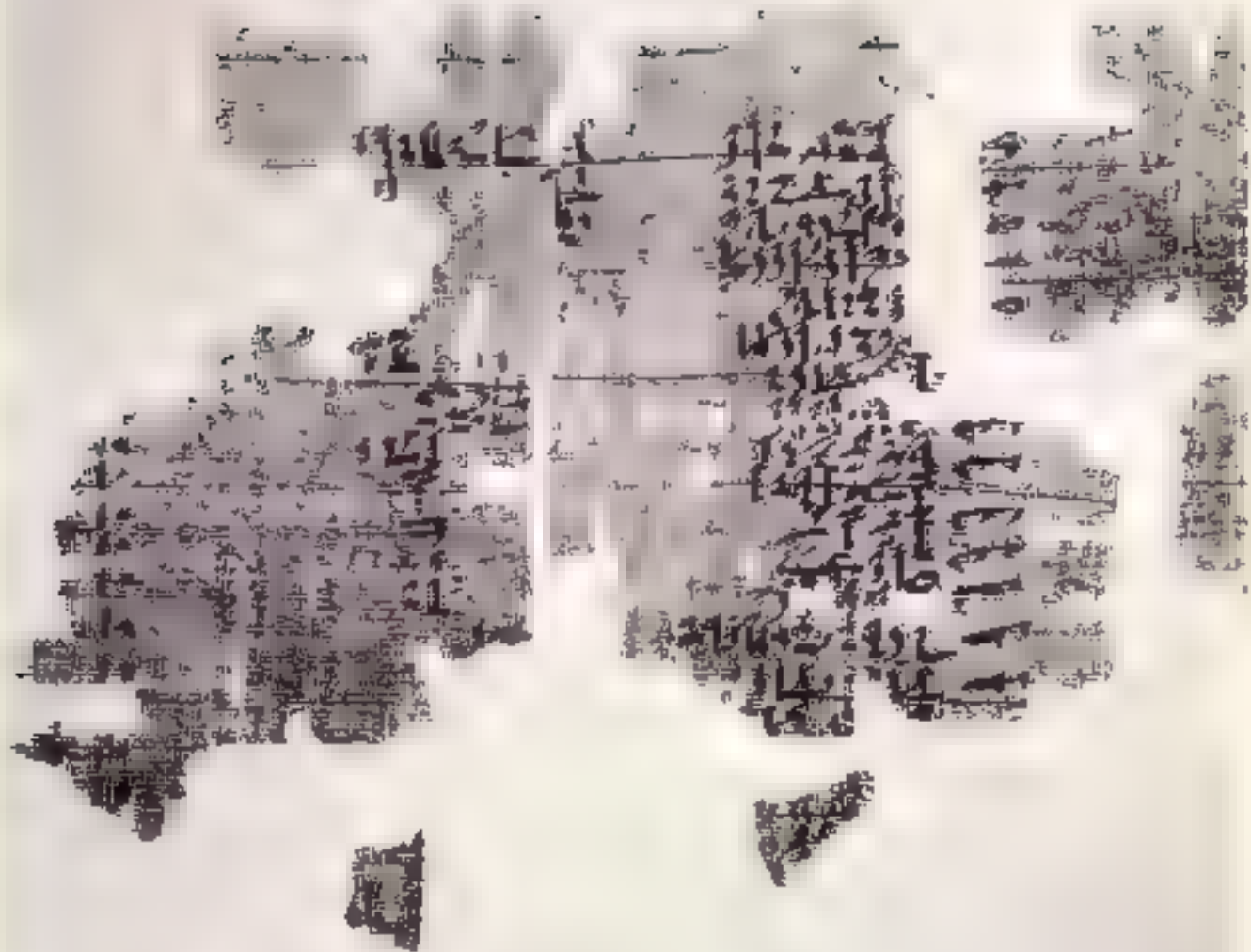
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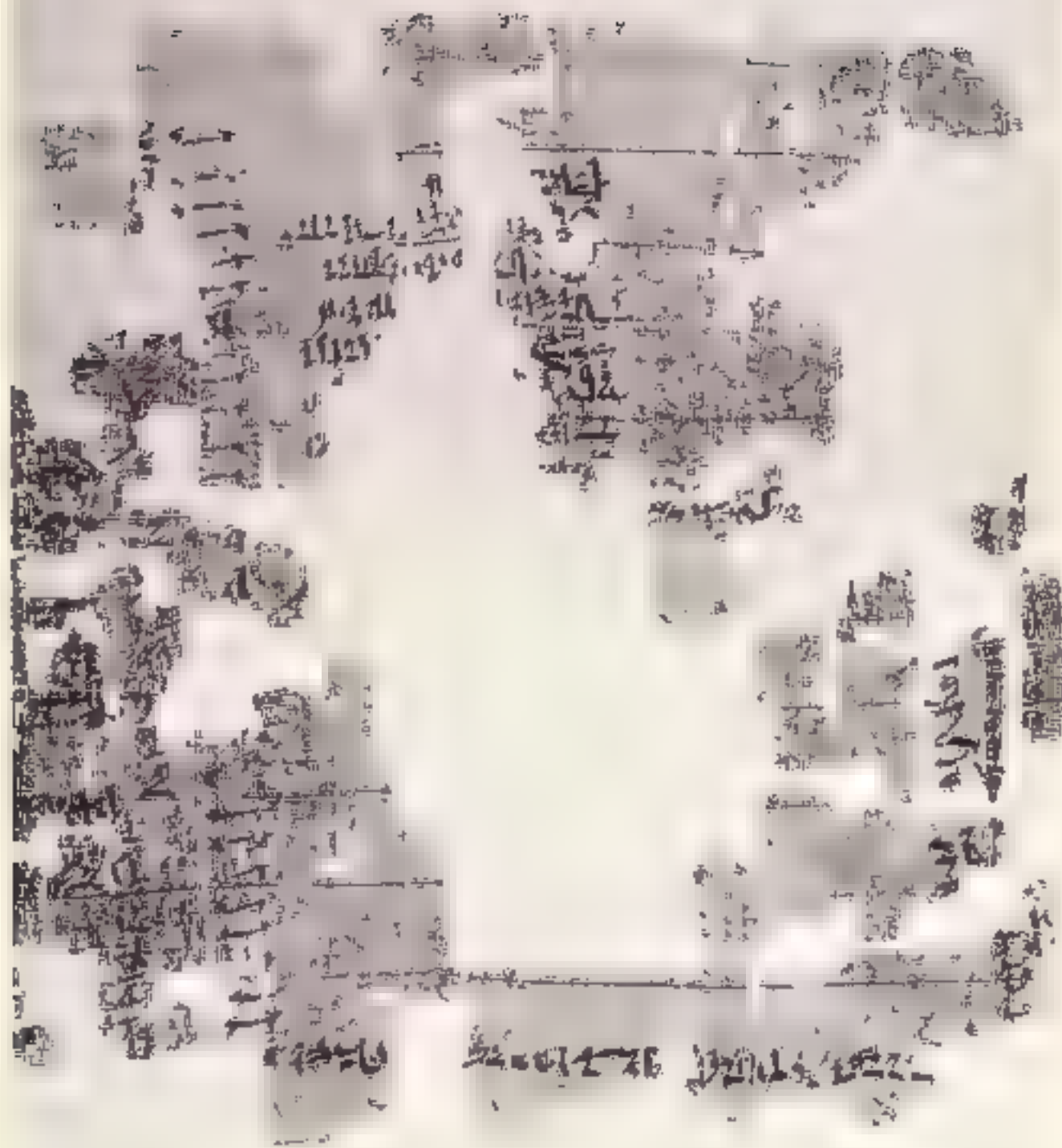
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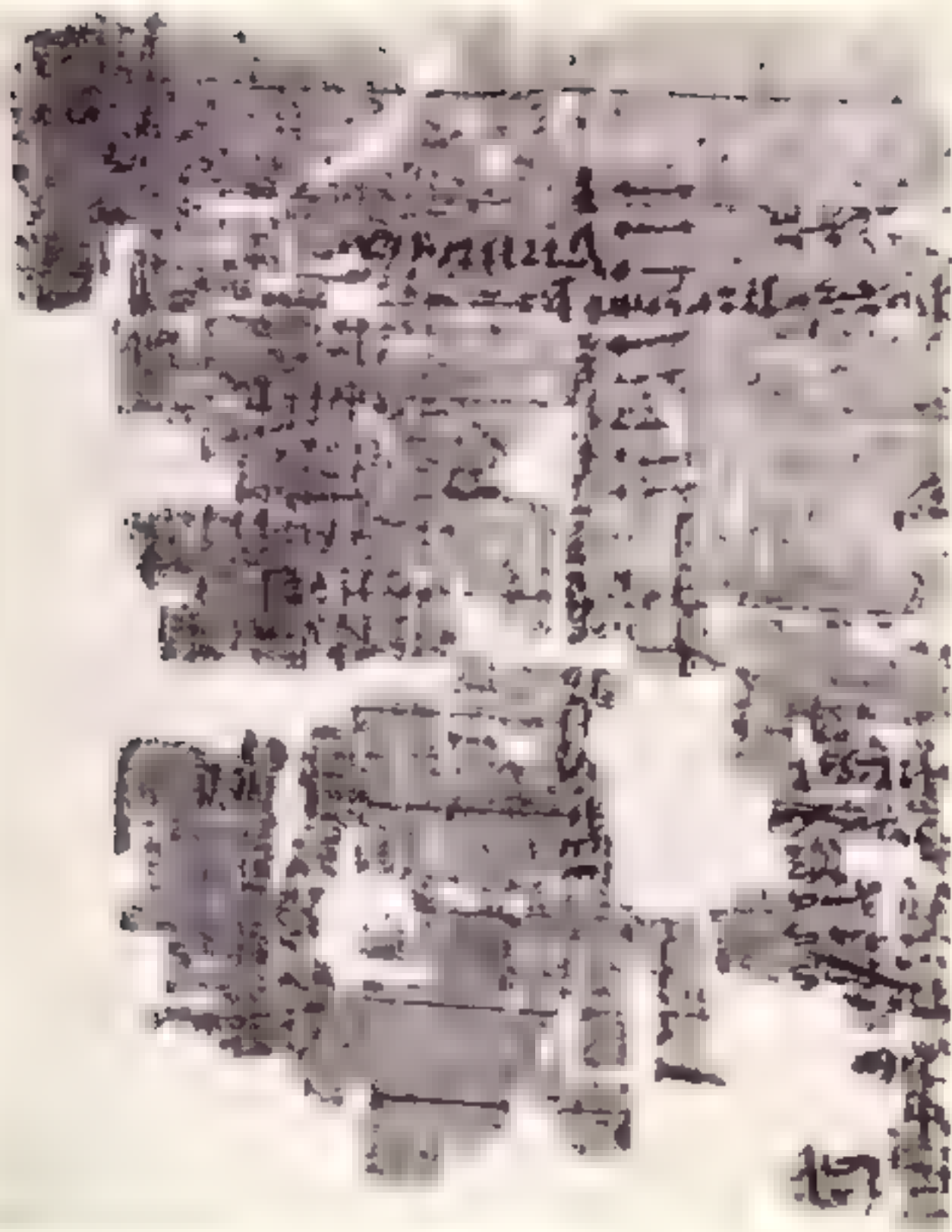
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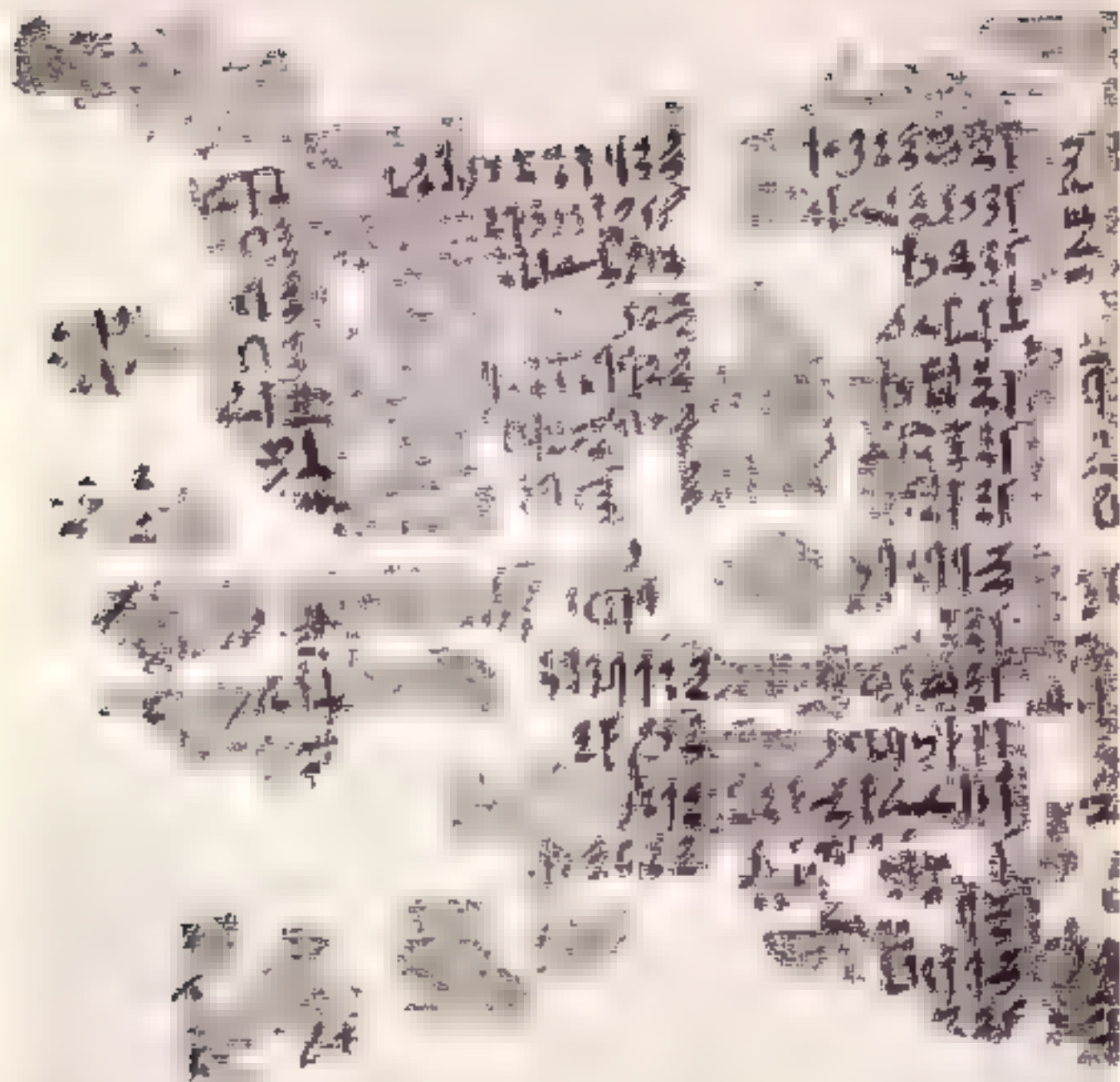


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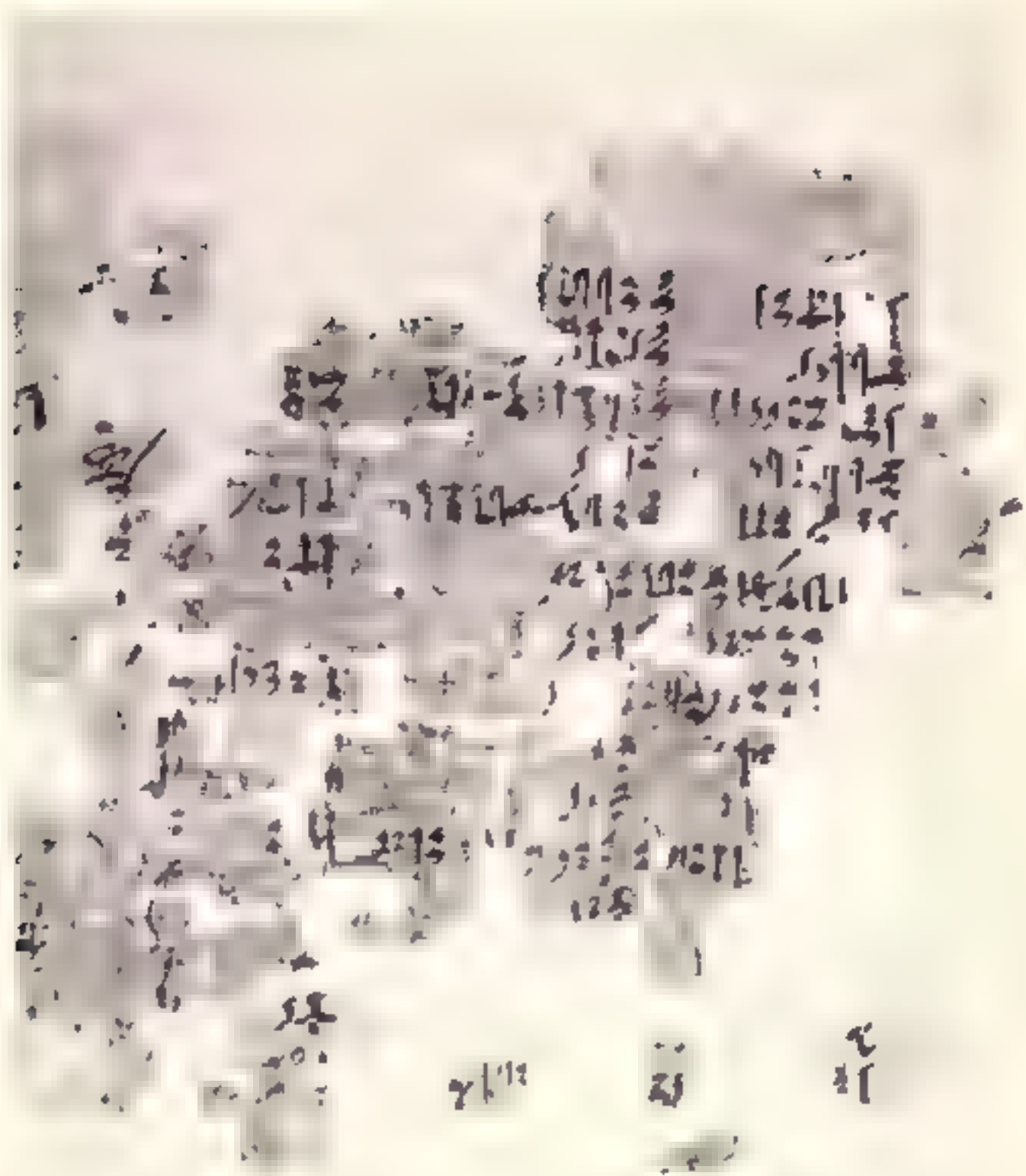









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XIII. *Papiro*, Text A and Lines 80-95 a

XIV. *Verreaux, Test B*

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